NAPOLEONIC IDEAS.

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NAPOLEONIC IDEAS.

DES

IDEES NAPOLÉONIENNES,

PAR

LE PRINCE

Napoléon-Louis Bonaparte.

BRUSSELS:
1839.

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES A. DORR.

NEW YORK:
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

WHATEVER tends to throw light upon the character and policy of that remarkable man, who now, Emperor of the French, wields the power and influence of France, and holds in his firm hand the trembling balance of peace and war, is matter of public importance. Not only have the learned, whether statesmen, historians, philosophers, or philanthropists, motives of reasonable curiosity, to learn all that can be learnt concerning the individual, who is playing, and apparently is destined to play, the leading part in the great world-drama now enacting; but every one holding property, or engaged in commercial, industrial, or financial enterprises, whether merchant, manufacturer, contractor, or banker; every one using or giving credit;—in fine, every man of business, who has any thing to gain by peace, and every capitalist, who has any thing to lose by war, has a personal interest to know all that he can know, concerning the springs of action which move and guide the mind and will of the sovereign, who, at the head of the central nation of the civilized world, curbs or spurs the military enthusiasm of six hundred thousand armed men, backed by a population of thirty-six millions

of a warlike race,—fond of glory,—the professed champions of an advanced civilisation.

I have thought, therefore, that, in translating into English this work, which, first published in 1839, may be regarded as presenting the policy and the promises of Prince Louis Napoleon, the present Emperor, then thirty-one years of age, and an exile, I should render a service not only to literature, but to practical intelligence, by enabling those who do not read, or may not possess, or have access to, the original, to form some opinion as to the probable course of political events, so far as they may depend upon the will and action of Napoleon III. He writes no more books; he is aware of the force and virtue of speech and of *silence;* he keeps his own counsels, and, in the words of Solomon, we may say of him, "the heart of "the king is inscrutable." But what he has written, he has written. Those who read what he has written, will, in drawing conclusions as to the action of the Emperor from the words of the exile, each according to his own judgment, make allowances for the changes which time, marriage, paternity, success, and perhaps a better and more practical knowledge of the affairs, duties, responsibilities, limits, and dangers of government may have wrought in the mind and heart of the author. It is not improbable, that these "Napo- "leonic Ideas" give to the world the most authentic indications of the present and settled purposes and policy of the leader of the French; and that they are overtures and true

> "prologues to the swelling act
> "Of the imperial theme."

Are we authorized to infer from the ratification of his assumption of imperial power by the all

but unanimous suffrages of the French people, that they, in sanctioning the restoration of the Napoleonic dynasty, have readopted also the Napoleonic regime? If it be so, we have in this book a programme of the active policy and living aspirations of France.

In making the foregoing remarks, I do not by any means wish it to be understood, that I consider the interest which attaches itself to the original work limited to transient circumstances, and to the present moment. On the contrary, many of the ideas are valuable in themselves and suggestive of others: they form, in my opinion, an important contribution to the science and art of politics, and to philosophy. The book might very properly have been entitled a philosophical analysis of the Consulate and the Empire.

Americans should, I think, more than others, desire to understand the foundation of that theory, which, planned and put in operation by Napoleon I., and now continued by Napoleon III., hopes and promises to reconcile in France personal and political liberty, and equality before the law, with an hereditary throne. We have thought that an elective Chief Magistracy affords the surest guaranty of liberty and equality to a people of our race, situated in our circumstances; but we are interested to study and to understand the modifications which these leading political principles or objects of the age undergo, in adapting themselves to the peculiar circumstances of various races, and in combining themselves with forms of social organisation and of government different from those which seem to suit us, though they may not be suitable to nations of different blood, and in a different state of preparation. The same sun rises and sheds the

same light upon the whole earth; but it discloses to our view a great variety of scenery; in one place, the beautiful and level fields of fertility and contentment, which may represent a Republic—in another, the magnificent inequalities of a mountainous region, which may represent an Empire.

There are many points of resemblance between the political movements of France and of America, during the past seventy or eighty years. Both are apparently working out, each independently, a solution of the great problems of the times. In France, the social revolution has assumed the phase which may be called the Napoleonic policy; here, it has taken the form which we call the American system. As many of the questions presented in both cases are similar or analogous, it is probable that in studying the French methods we shall learn many things useful and applicable to ourselves. If Napoleon had been born here, he probably would have sincerely adopted the American system.

It is proper here to call to mind that Napoleon III., in becoming Emperor of the French, has not forfeited his title to be considered a citizen of the republic of letters,—a state which allows and knows no distinction of political rank. It may be that, aware as he is of the mutability of fortune, he attaches more prospective importance to his reputation as an author, than to his success as a sovereign: nor would such a preference be without reason. David was a great king, the founder of a dynasty; but his chief title to fame, apart from all questions of inspiration, rests upon his poetical works. His wiser son was a greater prince, who consolidated and firmly established the

royal power which he inherited; but his book of proverbs is the surest and the still living proof of his traditional wisdom. Is it necessary for me to cite Cæsar and his Commentaries? or to allude to one who seemed to prefer the Academic uniform to the Imperial robes? Public opinion is the master of kings; and the pen which forms and guides public opinion is, therefore, more powerful than the royal sword, as it is more glorious than the jewelled sceptre.

The publication of this work will introduce to the people of the United States a citizen of the republic of letters; as such let him be judged, without fear and without favor, according to his merits.

For obvious reasons, in translating this work, fidelity to the original has been an especial duty: it has therefore been the principal aim. The original metal has been recoined, not transmuted; it retains, I trust, the genuine ring.

JAMES A. DORR.

New York, *April*, 1859.

NAPOLEONIC IDEAS.

PREFACE.

If the destiny which my birth presaged had not been changed by events, I, a nephew of the Emperor, should have been one of the defenders of his throne, and a propagator of his ideas; I should have enjoyed the glory of being a pillar of his edifice, or of dying in one of the squares of his guard, while fighting for France. The Emperor is no more! but his spirit still lives. Prevented from defending his shielding power with arms, I can at least attempt to defend his memory with the pen. To enlighten public opinion by searching out the thought, which presided over his high conceptions, to recall to mind his vast plans, is a task which yet smiles upon my heart, and consoles my exile! Fear of offending contrary opinions will not restrain me: ideas which are under the

ægis of the greatest genius of modern times may be avowed without reserve; nor do they need to adapt themselves to the varying caprices of the political atmosphere. Enemy of all absolute theories, and of all moral dependence, I have no engagement with any party, any sect, or any government. My voice is free,—as my thought;—and I love freedom!

CARLTON TERRACE, July, 1839.

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CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING GOVERNMENTS IN GENERAL.

General movement of progress.—Forms of government.—Their mission.

All the revolutions which have agitated the world, all the efforts of great men, warriors, or legislators, are they destined to result in nothing? Do we move constantly in a closed circle, in which light succeeds ignorance, and barbarism civilisation? Far from us be so sad a thought; the sacred fire which animates us ought to lead to a result worthy of the divine power which inspires us. The improvement of society marches onward, in spite of obstacles, without intermission; it knows no limits but those of the earth.

"The human race," says Pascal, "is a man who never dies, and always advances towards perfection." Sublime image of profound truth! The human

race never dies;—but it is subject to all the maladies to which man is subject; and although it always advances towards perfection, it is not exempt from human passions, that dangerous but indispensable arsenal, which furnishes the means of our elevation or of our ruin.

This comparison involves the principles upon which the life of nations is founded; that life which has two natures and two instincts;—one divine, which tends towards perfection,—the other mortal, which tends towards corruption.

Society then enfolds two contrary elements: on the one hand, immortality and progress; on the other, disease and dissolution.

All generations, as they succeed one another, participate in the same elements.

All nations have something in common—the instinctive desire and need of improvement. Each nation has something peculiar—the special disease which paralyzes its efforts.

Governments have been established to aid society to overcome the obstacles which impede its march. Their forms have been varied according to the maladies they have been called to cure, according to the epoch, and according to the character of the people they have presided over. Their task never has been and never will be easy, because the two contrary elements, of which our ex-

istence and the nature of society is composed, demand the employment of different means. In view of our divine essence, we need, for our progress, only liberty and work; in view of our mortal nature, we need for our direction a guide and a support.

A government is not, then, as a distinguished economist has said, a necessary ulcer; it is rather the beneficent motive power of all social organization.

When the panorama of history is unrolled before our eyes, we find there always these two great phenomena. Upon the one side a constant system which obeys a regular progression, which advances and never retreats: this is progress. Upon the other side, we see nothing but flexibility and mutation: these belong to the forms of government.

Progress never disappears, but it is often displaced; it goes from the government to the governed. The tendency of revolutions is, always, to restore progress to the governors. When progress is at the head of society, it marches boldly and swiftly, for it guides; when progress is confined to the governed, it marches slowly, for it must fight its way. In the first case, the people, having faith, allow themselves to be governed; in the second case, on the contrary, the people wish to do every thing themselves.

Ever since the world has existed, there has been progress. To be assured of this, it is only necessary to measure the road of civilisation; the track is marked by the great men who are as milestones, each a degree higher and nearer the end than the preceding; and we go from Alexander to Cæsar, from Cæsar to Constantine, from Constantine to Charlemagne, from Charlemagne to Napoleon.

Forms of government, on the contrary, do not follow constant laws. Republics are as old as the world; the elective system and the hereditary system have for ages disputed the possession of power, and power has rested by turns in the hands of those who had on their side science or intelligence, right or strength. Governments are not therefore based upon invariable forms: there is no more a governmental formula for the happiness of nations, than there is a universal panacea for the cure of all diseases. "Every question of political forms," says Carrel, "has "its data in the state of society, not elsewhere." These words involve a great truth. In politics, the good is only relative, never absolute.

Admitting the ideas which precede, it is impossible to attach high importance to the learned distinctions which writers have made between the government of one and the government of many, between democratic governments and aristocratic

governments.[1] All have been good, for they have existed and continued in existence; and for any given people, any form has been the best which has continued the longest time. But, *a priori*, the best government is that which fulfils well its mission—that is to say, that which is modelled upon the wants of the epoch, and which in forming itself upon, and adapting itself to, the present state of society, employs the necessary means to open a smooth and easy road for advancing civilisation.

I say it with regret, I see at the present day only two governments which fulfil well their providential mission; these are the two Colossuses, which exist, one at the extremity of the new, the other at the extremity of the old world.[2] Whilst our old

[1] Far be from me the idea of entering into a discussion upon the comparative merits of monarchies and republics; I leave to the philosophers and the metaphysicians the solution of a problem which, treated *a priori*, I consider insoluble. I see in monarchy neither the principle of divine right, nor all the faults and defects which some pretend to see. I see in the hereditary system only a guaranty of the integrity of a country. In order to appreciate this opinion, it is sufficient to recollect, that the two monarchies of France and of Germany were born at the same time,—at the partition of the empire of Charlemagne. The crown became wholly elective in Germany —it remained hereditary in France. Eight hundred years after the partition, Germany was divided into about twelve hundred States—her nationality had disappeared; while in France the hereditary principle has destroyed all the petty sovereigns, and formed a great and compact nation.

[2] I do not mean to say by this that all the other governments of Europe are bad; I wish to say only, that in the pres-

European centre resembles a volcano, which consumes itself in its crater, the two nations of the East and the West march without hesitation on the road of improvement; one of them through the will of one man, the other through liberty.

Providence has committed to the United States of America the charge of peopling and of subduing to civilisation all that immense territory which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, and from the North pole to the equator. Their government, which is a simple administration has had, up to the present time, but to put in practice the old adage,—"Laissez faire, laissez pas-"ser,"—in order to favor that irresistible instinct, which urges the population of the United States towards the West.

In Russia, to an imperial dynasty is due all the progress which, during a century and a half, has withdrawn this vast empire from barbarism. The imperial power must contend against all the old prejudices of our ancient Europe; it must centralize, as much as possible, in the hands of a single man, all the forces of the State, in order to destroy the abuses which tend to perpetuate themselves under the protection of communal and feudal franchises. The East can receive only from him the ameliorations which it expects and awaits.

ent day no other government is on a level with its great mission.

But France! France of Henry IV., of Louis XIV., of Carnot, of Napoleon—always the fountain of progress for Western Europe—possessing the two elements of empire, the genius of the peaceful arts, and the genius of war; has France no longer a mission to fulfil? Will she exhaust her resources and her energies in never-ending internal and suicidal contests? No! such cannot be the destiny of France! Soon will arrive the day when, in order to reign over her, it will be understood that her part is, to cast into the scales of all treaties her sword of Brennus on the side of civilisation!

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL IDEAS.

Mission of the Emperor.—Liberty will follow the same path as religion.—Re-establishment of the monarchy and of the Catholic religion.—How Napoleon should be judged.

When ideas which have governed the world during long periods lose, in consequence of the necessary transformation of society, their force and their empire, new ideas, destined to replace those which preceded, arise. Although they bear within themselves a re-organizing germ, they proceed nevertheless by means of disorganization. But, so great is the presumption of new-born ideas, and so agreeable to our ephemeral existence is the idea of duration, that, as they pluck the stones from the old edifice and build upon the fallen mass anew, they proclaim the ruins to be a new and indestructible foundation; until successive falls, and successive burials of that which preceded, teach them that they have torn down and not built up—that their work requires more solid materials, in

order to be safe from the crash of the crumbling past.

It is thus that the ideas of 1789 (ideas which, after having overturned Europe, will end by securing its repose) appeared, already in 1791, to have destroyed the old, and to have created the new, order of things. But the birth of liberty is slow and painful, and the work of ages cannot be destroyed without tremendous shocks! 1793 followed hard upon 1791; and the world witnessed ruin after ruin, transformation after transformation, until at length Napoleon appeared, cleared up the chaos of nothingness and of glory, separated truths from passions, the elements of success from the seeds of death, and reduced to synthesis, all those great principles, which, contending together unceasingly, compromised the cause in which all were interested.

Napoleon, arriving upon the stage of the world, saw that he was to play the part of being the *testamentary executor of the revolution.* The destructive conflagration of contending parties was extinct, and when the revolution, dying, but not vanquished, bequeathed to Napoleon the duty of accomplishing her last wishes, she said to him: "Secure upon solid foundations the principal re-"sults of my efforts; reunite the French, now di-"vided; repulse feudal Europe, now in league "against me; heal my wounds; spread light among

"the nations; complete broadly what I have com-
"menced deeply; be for Europe what I have been
"for France; and—even though you may be called
"upon to water the tree of civilisation with your
"blood, to see your plans misunderstood and re-
"jected, and those who are dear to you condemned
"to wander in exile over the earth—never aban-
"don the sacred cause of France, but make it tri-
"umph by all the means which genius invents,
"and humanity approves."

This great mission Napoleon accomplished to the very end. The task was difficult. It was necessary to found upon new principles a society still boiling with hatred and rancor, and to make use, for consolidation, of the same instruments which, until then, had only served to demolish.

The common lot of every new risen truth is to alarm rather than persuade, to wound rather than convince. This is because it projects itself with greater force, as it has been longer restrained; because, having obstacles to overcome, it must contend and overthrow, until, understood and adopted by the general mass, it becomes the basis of a new social order.

Liberty and the Christian religion will follow the same path. Christianity, armed with death against the old Roman form of society, excited for a long time the fear and the hatred of nations; then, in virtue of martyrdoms and persecution, the

religion of Christ penetrated into the depths of minds and of conscienees; soon she had at her control armies and kings; Constantine and Charlemagne conducted her in triumph through Europe. Then religion laid aside her weapons of war, unveiled to all eyes her principles of order and peace, and became the organizing element of society, and the support of power. Thus will it be with liberty: already has she passed through some of the same phases. In 1793, she affrighted peoples as well as sovereigns; then, having assumed more gentle forms, she insinuated herself everywhere, following our battalions. In 1815, all parties adopted her colors, and supporting themselves upon her moral force, covered themselves with her flag. The adoption was not sincere, and liberty was obliged to resume her weapons of war. Fears were renewed with the contest. Let us hope that they will soon cease, and that liberty will again put on her festal robes, never to quit them more.

The Emperor Napoleon has contributed more than any other person to hasten the reign of liberty, by preserving the moral influence of the revolution, and diminishing the fears which it inspired.[1] Without the Consulate and the Empire,

[1] It was the fear which the French revolution roused in the minds of sovereigns, that arrested the reforms and the progress which had been commenced before 1789, by Joseph II. in Austria, and by Leopold in Italy.

the revolution would have been merely a great drama, leaving grand recollections, but few practical results. The revolution would have been drowned in the counter-revolution; but the contrary took place, because Napoleon planted deep in France, and introduced everywhere in Europe, the principal benefits resulting from the grand crisis of 1789, and because, to use his language, "he "purified the revolution, seated firmly kings, and "ennobled the people." He purified the revolution, by separating the truths, which it caused to triumph, from the passions, which, in their delirium, had obscured them; he seated firmly kings, by rendering royal power respectable and honorable; he ennobled the people, by giving them a consciousness of their strength, and those institutions which elevate man in his own respect. The Emperor should be regarded as the Messiah of new ideas; for, in moments which immediately follow a social dissolution, the essential thing is, not to put into application principles in all the subtilty of their theory, but to seize the regenerating spirit, to identify one's self with the sentiments of the people, and guide them boldly towards the end which they desire to reach. To be capable of accomplishing such a task, it is necessary that "*your "fibre should respond to that of the people*,"[1] that you feel as the people feel, and that your interests

[1] Words of the Emperor.

be so intermingled, that you must conquer or fall together!

It was this union of sentiment, of instinct, and of will, which created the power of the Emperor. It is a grave error to think that a great man is omnipotent, and that he derives his powers only from himself. To know how to divine, to use wisely, and to guide,—these are the first qualities of a superior genius. "I have taken care," said Napoleon, "not to fall into the error of the men "of modern systems,—to imagine that I represent "of myself, and through my own thoughts, the "wisdom of nations. The skill of the workman "consists in knowing how to avail himself of the "materials which he has at hand."

One of the first necessities of a government is to understand well the state of the country which it rules, and to know where exist the elements of strength upon which it can rely. The ancient monarchy had for supports the nobility and the clergy, because at that time the two principal elements of strength resided in those two classes, which represented landed wealth and moral influence. The Revolution had destroyed all that feudal edifice; it had displaced interests, created new sources of power and wealth, and given birth to new ideas.

To attempt to restore the ancient regime, to rely upon forces which no longer had roots, would have been folly. The Emperor, while re-estab-

lishing ancient forms in founding his authority, relied only upon the young and vigorous sap of new interests. He re-established the clergy, but without making them a means of government. So also the transition from the republic to a monarchy, and the re-establishment of public worship, instead of awakening fears, reassured men's minds; for, far from crossing any interest, these acts satisfied political and moral wants, and responded to the wishes of the majority. Indeed, if these transformations had not corresponded with the sentiments and ideas of the majority, Napoleon would not have made them; for he appreciated correctly, and he desired to augment, not to weaken, his moral power. Thus, never before were so great changes accomplished with so little effort. Napoleon had but to say, "Let the churches be open-"ed," and the faithful rushed to fill them. He asked the nation,—"Do you wish the governing "power to be hereditary?" and the nation answered affirmatively by four millions of votes.[1]

[1] Some persons wish to raise doubts concerning the legitimate character of such an election. But they attack thus all the constitutions of the republic; for those constitutions even did not obtain so complete a sanction.

The Constitution of 1791 was not submitted to the acceptance of the people.

	Voters.	Accepting.	Refusing.
Constitution of 1793,		1,801,018	11,600
" " year 3,		1,057,390	49,977
" " " 8, Consulate,	3,012,569	3,011,007	1,562
Consulate for life,	3,577,259	3,568,888	8,374
HereditaryEmpire, 1804,	3,524,254	3,521,675	2,579

It is difficult to disengage ourselves entirely from the past; generations, like individuals, are controlled by their antecedents. Our sentiments are for the most part only traditions. Slave of the recollections of his infancy, man obeys all his life, without suspecting it, the impressions which he received in his early days, and the trials and influences to which he was then subjected. The life of a people is subject to the same general laws. A single day cannot change a republic of 500 years into an hereditary monarchy, or convert a monarchy of 1,400 years into an elective republic.

Consider Rome: during 500 years her republican forms existed, and they placed her at the head of the world. During 500 years the elective system produced great men, and the dignity of consul, of senator, of tribune, was far above that of the thrones of kings, whom the Romans knew only by seeing them chained to the triumphal cars of their conquerors. And, although Rome could no longer maintain those institutions which had endured for ages, and which had created her grandeur and her power, she preserved nevertheless, for 600 years more, under the emperors, the venerated forms of the republic. So the French republic, which succeeded a monarchy of 1,400 years, under which France had become great and glorious, in virtue of the sole principle of monarchical centralisation, in spite of the faults and errors of

her kings;—so the French republic not only soon reclothed itself with the ancient forms, but from its very origin it preserved the distinctive character of the monarchy, by proclaiming and strengthening by every means that centralisation of power which had been the vital element of French nationality.

Let us add to these considerations, that Napoleon and Cæsar, who found themselves in analogous circumstances, had to act with the same motives in opposite ways. Both of them wished to reconstruct with ancient forms upon new principles.[1] It belonged to Cæsar, therefore, to preserve republican forms; to Napoleon to re-establish the forms of monarchy.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century great unanimity was felt in favor of rendering the power of the Emperor hereditary, whether because of the traditional force of ancient institutions, or of the prestige which surrounds man invested with authority, or of the desire for an

[1] The emperor, in his Précis des Guerres de César, has clearly proved, that Cæsar never desired—never could desire—to make himself king. "Cæsar, Conqueror," said Napoleon, "never governed but as consul, dictator, or tribune; he confirmed, then, rather than discredited, the ancient forms of "the republic. Augustus, even, a long time after, and when "whole generations of republicans had been swept away by "proscriptions and the war of the triumvirs, never entertained "the idea of erecting a throne. It would have been on the "part of Cæsar a strange policy to replace the curule chair of "the conquerors of the world by the decayed throne, which "even the vanquished despised."

order of things which should give greater guaranties of stability. But the difficulty of establishing the republican form might perhaps be explained by another consideration. France, since 1789, had been democratic; but it is difficult to conceive, in a great European state, the existence of a republic without an aristocracy.[1]

There are in every country two sorts of interests, very distinct and often opposed to each other,—general interests and particular interests, or, in other words, permanent interests and transient interests. The first do not change with succeeding generations; their spirit transmits itself from age to age by tradition rather than by calculation. These interests can be represented only by an aristocracy, or, in the absence thereof, by an hereditary family. The particular and transient interests, on the contrary, change continually according to circumstances, and can be well understood only by representatives of the people, who, being renewed continually, present a faithful expression of the wants and the wishes of the masses. Now, France having no longer an aristocracy, and being no longer able to maintain an

[1] I find in the History of the Revolution, by M. Thiers, an analogous idea. "Upon better reflection, it would be seen that "an aristocratic element is *more particularly* suitable to repub- "lics." It may be added that an aristocracy does not need a chief, whilst it is the nature of a democracy to personify itself in one man.

aristocracy, that is to say, a privileged body, whose influence is great only because its authority is consecrated by time, the republic would have been destitute of this conservative power, which, though often oppressive, yet, a faithful guardian of general and permanent interests, built up, during a series of centuries at Rome, Venice, and London, the greatness of their respective nations by simple perseverance in a national system.

To supply this want of stability and national perseverance, which is the great defect of democratic republics, it was necessary to create an hereditary family, which should be the conservator of the general interests, and whose power should be founded upon the democratic spirit of the nation.

But, let opinions differ as they may concerning the value of these considerations; let Napoleon be censured for having surmounted his republican laurels with a crown; let the French people be blamed for having desired and sanctioned this change—every thing is susceptible of controversy—there is one point, upon which all who recognize in the Emperor a great man must agree, and that is—even if he erred—his intentions should always have been up to the level of his faculties and his capacity. It is the height of inconsistency to ascribe to a great genius all the weaknesses of mediocrity. There are, however vulgar minds,

which, jealous of the superiority of merit, seem to revenge themselves by ascribing to it their paltry passions. Thus, instead of comprehending that a great man can be guided only by great conceptions, and by reasons of State of the highest and farthest reach, they say: "Napoleon made him-"self Emperor, because he was ambitious; he sur-"rounded himself with the illustrious names of the "ancient regime, to gratify his vanity; he poured "out the treasures and the purest blood of France, "to aggrandize his power and place his brothers "upon thrones; and he married an arch-duchess of "Austria, in order to have a real princess in his "bed." "Have I then reigned over pigmies in in-"telligence, who have so little understood me?" said Napoleon, at St. Helena, in a moment of chagrin.—Let his spirit be consoled! The masses have for a long time done him justice: every day that passes, as it discovers a misery which he cured, an evil which he extirpated, throws light upon, and explains his noble plans. And his great ideas, which, as the present darkens, shine all the brighter, stand as luminous beacons, promising and making visible, through and beyond the clouds and tempests, a future of safety!

CHAPTER III.

QUESTION OF THE INTERIOR.

General tendency.—Principles of fusion, equality, order, and justice.—*Administrative Organisation.*—Judiciary order.—Finances.—Charitable institutions, communes, agriculture, manufactures, commerce.—The Army.—*Political Organisation.*—Fundamental principles.—Accusations of despotism.—Military government.—Answers to these accusations.

The different governments which held power successively from 1789 to 1800, obtained, in spite of their excesses, great results. The independence of France had been maintained; the feudal system had been broken up, and salutary principles had been widely spread. Nevertheless, nothing was as yet solidly established; too many hostile elements stood face to face.

At the epoch when Napoleon arrived at power, the true genius of legislation consisted in judging by a *coup d'œil* of the relations which existed between the past and the present, between the present and the future.

It was necessary to solve and answer the following questions:—

What ideas have passed away never to return?

What ideas must ultimately triumph?

Finally, what ideas are susceptible of immediate application, and will hasten the reign of those which are destined to prevail?

The Emperor made by a rapid glance this distinction, and though he distinctly foresaw the possibilities of the future, he confined his action to the realisation of present possibilities.

The great difficulty in revolutions is to avoid confusion in popular ideas. The duty of every government is to oppose false ideas, and to guide true ideas by placing itself boldly at their head; for if, instead of guiding, a government allows itself to be led, it hastens to destruction, and compromises society, instead of protecting it.

The Emperor acquired so easily his immense ascendency, because he was the representative of the true ideas of his age. As to harmful ideas, he never attacked them in front, but always in flank, parleying and negotiating with them, and finally reducing them to submission by a moral influence; for he knew that violence is unavailing and worthless against ideas.

Having always an object in view, he employed, according to circumstances, the most prompt means to attain it.

What was his ultimate object? . . . Liberty.

Yes, liberty! and the more one studies the history of Napoleon, the more will he be convinced of this truth. For liberty is like a river; in order that it may bring abundance and not devastation, it is necessary to prepare for it a broad and deep channel. If, in its regular and majestic course, it remains within its natural limits, the regions which it traverses bless its passage; but, if it comes like an overflowing torrent, it is regarded as the most terrible of calamities; it awakens every form of distrust, and then one sees men in their prejudice reject liberty because she may destroy, as if one should banish fire because it may burn, or water because it may inundate.

But, is it said liberty was not secured by the imperial laws? The name of liberty was not, it is true, placed at the head of every law, or placarded at every public square; but every law of the Empire prepared for its peaceful and certain reign.

When, in a country, there exist parties exasperated against each other, and violent mutual hatreds, it is necessary that these parties disappear, and these hatreds be pacified, before liberty is possible.

When, in a country become thoroughly democratic like France, the principle of equality is not generally applied, it must be introduced into all the laws, before liberty is possible.

When there is neither public spirit, nor religion, nor political faith, it is necessary to create at least one of these elements, before liberty is possible.

When the ancient manners and customs have been destroyed by a social revolution, it is necessary to create new manners and customs in harmony with the new principles, before liberty is possible.

When, in a nation, there is no longer an aristocracy, and nothing remains organized but the army, it is necessary to reconstruct a civil order, based upon a precise and regular organisation, before liberty is possible.

Finally, when a country is at war with its neighbors, and it contains in its bosom partisans of its enemies, it is necessary to conquer those enemies, and convert them into sure allies, before liberty is possible.

We must pity those who wish to reap before having ploughed the field, or sown the seed, or given to the plant the necessary time to germinate, to blossom, and to ripen its fruit. It is a fatal error to imagine that a declaration of principles is sufficient to constitute a new order of things.

After a revolution, the essential thing is not to make a constitution, but to adopt a system, which, based upon popular principles, possesses all the

force necessary to found and establish, and which, while surmounting the difficulties of the moment, possesses in itself the flexibility which enables it to adapt itself to circumstances. Besides, after a conflict, can a constitution guaranty itself against reactionary passions? how dangerous is it to attempt to convert transitory necessities into general and permanent principles![1] "A Constitution," Napoleon has said, "is the work of time; one cannot "provide in it too broad a power of amendment."

We proceed to recapitulate, under the preceding points of view, the actions of the Emperor. To judge is to compare. We will compare then his reign with the immediate epoch which preceded, and with the epoch which followed. We will judge his plans by what he did when victorious—by what he has left in spite of his defeat.

When Napoleon returned from Egypt, all

[1] A thousand examples could be cited to support this idea. We will confine ourselves to recalling to mind, that in 1792, in order to prevent the government from re-establishing the unequal distribution of estates among children, the power of disposing of property by will had been substantially taken away. Napoleon reformed this reactionary law. Under the Restoration the Swiss troops were detested—they received more pay than French troops. After the revolution of 1830, it was not considered sufficient to send them away, but an article was introduced into the Charter forbidding government to employ any foreign troops. One year later came the misfortunes of Poland; 6,000 Poles took refuge in France; it was desired to enlist them in regiments, but the reactionary article of the Charter prohibited it!

France received him with transport, and regarded him as the savior of the Revolution, then about to expire. France, fatigued by so many successive efforts, agitated by so many different parties, had gone to sleep amidst the thunder of her victories, and seemed about to lose all the fruit of that which she had acquired. The government was without moral force, without principle, without virtue. Furnishers and contractors were at the head of society, and held the highest rank in the midst of corruption. Generals of the army, such as Championnet at Naples, and Brune in Lombardy,[1] feeling that they were the strongest, began to refuse obedience to the government, and imprisoned its representatives. Credit was annihilated, the treasury was empty, public stock had fallen to eleven per centum, waste was rife in the administration, the most odious brigandage infested France, and the provinces of the west were in a constant state of insurrection. Finally, the ancient regime approached again with alarming speed; for the axe of the lictor no longer protected the cap of liberty.

Everybody talked of liberty and equality; but each party wished them only for itself. We want equality, said some; but we do not wish to grant the rights of citizenship to the relatives of nobles and of emigrants; we propose to leave a hundred

[1] Thiers, History of the Revolution.

and forty-five thousand Frenchmen in exile.[1] We want equality, said others; but we do not wish to give offices to conventionalists. Finally, we want liberty; but we are for maintaining the law which condemns to death those whose writings tend to recall the ancient regime; we are for maintaining the law of hostages, which destroys the security of two hundred thousand families;[2] we are for maintaining the impediments which nullify the liberty of worship, etc., etc.

Such contradictions between professed principles and their practical application tended to introduce confusion into ideas and into things. It must have been so, so long as there was not a national power, which, by its stability and its conscious strength, was exempt from passion, and able to give protection to all parties, without losing any thing of its popular character.

Men have, in all times, had the same passions. The causes which produce great changes are different, but the effects are often the same. It is almost always seen that in times of trouble the oppressed cry out for liberty for themselves, and having obtained it, that they refuse to grant it to those who were their oppressors. There existed in England, in the seventeenth century, a religious

[1] This is the number settled by the report of the minister of police, year 8.

[2] Bignon, vol. i. p. 11.

and republican sect, which, being persecuted by the intolerance of the clergy and the government, resolved to quit the country of their ancestors, and go beyond the seas to an uninhabited world, there to enjoy that sweet and holy liberty which the old world refused to grant. Victims of intolerance, and conscious of the ills which it inflicts, certainly these independent men will, in the new country which they go to found, be more just than their oppressors! But,—inconsistency of the human heart!—the very first law passed by the Puritans founding a new society in the State of Massachusetts, was one declaring the penalty of death to those who should dissent from their religious doctrines!

We must admire the Napoleonic spirit, which was never either exclusive or intolerant. The emperor, superior to the petty passions of parties, and generous as the people whom he was called to rule, professed always this maxim, that in politics evils should be remedied, not revenged.

The abuse of the royal power, and the tyranny of the nobility, had caused that tremendous reaction which is called the Revolution of 1789. This brought on other reactions of a contrary and most calamitous nature. With the accession of Napoleon, all the reactionary passions ceased. Strong in the sympathy of the people, he proceeded rapidly to the abolition of all unjust laws;

he cicatrized all wounds, recompensed all merit, adopted every glory, and brought all Frenchmen to concur in one sole object, the prosperity of France.

Scarcely was the First Consul invested with power, before he revoked the laws which excluded the relatives of emigrants and of former nobles from the exercise of political rights and of the functions of public offices. The law of forced loans was recalled and replaced by an extraordinary levy additional to the regular taxes. Napoleon put an end to the requisitions "*en nature*," and established the law of hostages. He recalled the writers condemned to deportation by the law of the 19th Fructidor, year 5, such as Carnot, Portalis, Siméon. He allowed the conventionalists Barrère and Vadier to return. He opened the doors of France to more than one hundred thousand emigrants, among whom were the members of the constituent assembly. He caused to be restored to their public offices certain conventionalists, whom it had been desired to exclude. He pacified *la Vendée*. He organized the administration of the municipalities in the cities of Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux. He expressed himself to the Council of State on one occasion, in these words: "To rule by means of a party is to put "one's self sooner or later in dependence upon it. "I shall not fall into that snare; I am national. I

"make use of all who have the capacity and the will "to march with me. This is the reason why I "have composed my Council of State of constitu- "ents who were called moderate, or *feuillants*, "such as Defermon, Roederer, Regnier, and Reg- "nault; of royalists, such as Devaines and Du- "fresnes; finally, of Jacobins, such as Brune, Réal, "and Berlier. I love honest men of all parties." Prompt to recompense recent services, as well as to illustrate all great souvenirs, Napoleon placed in the Hotel des Invalides, by the side of the statues of Hoche, Joubert, Marceau, Dugommier, and Dampierre, the statue of Condé, the ashes of Turenne, and the heart of Vauban. He revived at Orleans the memory of Jeanne d'Arc, at Beauvais that of Jeanne Hachette. In 1800 he made the restoration of a great citizen, Lafayette, an indispensable condition of a treaty. Later, he took as aides-de-camp, officers (Drouot, Lobau, Bernard) who had been opposed to the consulate for life; and he treated with the same benevolence senators who had voted against the establishment of the empire. Always faithful to the principles of conciliation, the Emperor, in the course of his reign, granted a pension to the sister of Robespierre, as he did to the mother of the Duke of Orleans.[1] He consoled and assisted in her misfor-

[1] The Emperor granted to the mother of the present king, Louis Philippe, a pension of 400,000 francs, and one of 200,000 francs to the Duchess of Bourbon.

tunes the widow of Bailly, President of the Constituent Assembly, and supported in her old age the last descendant of Duguesclin.

To reunite all the national forces against the enemy, to reorganize the country upon principles of equality, order, and justice, this was the task of Napoleon. He found under his hand many elements full of antipathy, and, according to his own expression, instead of extirpating them, he united them by amalgamation.

Divisions existed not only in political parties, but also in other bodies of the nation. The clergy was divided between the old and the new bishops, the high and the low church, priests sworn partisans of the revolution, and refractory priests. These last were the favorite children of the Pope. Profiting by the influence which the protection of the head of the religion gave them, they perverted minds through writings printed abroad, which they scattered over the country. The Emperor, by his concordat, removed the leader of this misguided flock, and brought back the clergy to ideas of concord and submission.[1] The republic of let-

[1] By article 3 of the Concordat, the Pope undertook to procure the renunciation of the emigrant bishops, whose letters mandatory and pastoral continued to sow trouble in their ancient dioceses. Article 13 sanctioned the alienation of ecclesiastical property, and declared the title of possession valid in the hands of purchasers.

ters was divided between the Institute and the old Academy. He merged the members of the Academy in the Institute, and the savants lived in peace, uniting their intelligence to illuminate the nation, and hasten the progress of science. There existed ancient names, to some of which were annexed souvenirs of glory; and titles, whose influence was not entirely extinct. Napoleon reconciled ancient and new France, by mingling with the inherited titles new titles acquired by meritorious services. The Jews formed a nation within the nation; some of their dogmas were contrary to the French civil laws. The Emperor caused to be convoked the grand Sanhedrim, which, in concert with the imperial commissioners, reformed those political regulations of the law of Moses, which were susceptible of modification; and the Jews became citizens. The barriers which separated them from the rest of the nation gradually disappeared.

Especially let us not overlook the fact that all which Napoleon undertook and accomplished, in order to effect a general fusion, was done without renouncing the principles of the Revolution. He recalled the emigrants without touching the principle of the irrevocability of the sale of the national property. He re-established the Catholic religion at the same time that he proclaimed liberty of conscience, and gave equal pecuniary as-

sistance to the ministers of every form of worship. He caused himself to be consecrated by the sovereign Pontiff, without subscribing to any of the concessions trenching upon the liberties of the Gallican church which the Pope demanded. He espoused the daughter of the Emperor of Austria, without surrendering any of the rights of France to the conquests which she had made. He re-established titles of nobility, but without annexing to them privileges or prerogatives. These titles were open to all classes, all services, and all professions. Under the Empire all idea of caste was destroyed; no one pretended to boast of his parchments. It was asked what one had done, not what was his birth.

The first quality of a people that aspires to a free government is respect for the law. Now a law possesses no force, except in the interest which each citizen has to respect or to break it. In order to ingraft in the people respect for the law, it was necessary that the law should be executed for the common good, and that it should consecrate the principle of equality in all its extent; it was necessary to revive the prestige of authority, and to plant deep in the manners and customs the principles of the revolution; for manners and customs are the sanctuary of institutions. At the birth of a new society, the legislator makes the manners and customs, or corrects them, while at

a later period the manners and customs make the laws, or preserve them from age to age. When institutions are in harmony, not only with the interests, but still more with the sympathies and the habits of a people, then is formed that public and national spirit which forms the strength of a country, because it serves as a bulwark against every encroachment of power, and every attack of parties. "There is in every nation," says Montesquieu, "a general public spirit upon which power "itself is founded; when it shocks that public "spirit, the shock is communicated to itself, and it "necessarily comes to a stand-still."

This public spirit, so difficult to create after a revolution, was formed, under the Empire, by the establishment of those codes of law which settled the rights of every one, through the severe morality introduced into the administration, through the promptitude with which authority repressed all injustice—finally, through the zeal which the Emperor constantly exhibited to satisfy the material and the moral wants of the nation. His government did not commit the fault common to so many others, of separating the interests of the soul from those of the body, casting the former into the regions of chimera, and admitting the latter only into the domain of reality. Napoleon, on the contrary, in giving an impulse to all the elevated passions, and showing that merit and

virtue lead to riches and honors, proved to the world that the noble sentiments of the human heart are but the flag of the material interests of man well understood, precisely as the Christian morality is sublime because, even as a civil law, it is the safest guide we can follow, and the best counsellor of our private interests.

But it was not sufficient, in order to reconstruct the nation, that the Emperor should repair the evils caused by the injustice of former governments, or that he should derive support from all classes without distinction; it was also necessary that he should organize France.

A system of government embraces an administrative organisation and a political organisation. In a democratic state, such as France was, the administrative organisation was the most important; for it governed, to a certain degree, the political organisation. In an aristocratic country, political action being in the hands of a whole class, the holders of power reign rather by personal than by administrative influence; the governmental force is distributed among all the patrician families.[1] But in a government of which the foundation is

[1] England furnishes an example in support of this opinion. The lord-lieutenants of the counties have not half the power of the prefects of France, but they have twice their moral influence. Their influence is derived from their position in society, not from their office; it is the *lord* who governs, much more than the *lieutenant* of government.

democratic, the chief alone possesses governmental power: as the moral force is derived solely from him, so every thing returns to him, whether love or hatred. In such an order of society, centralisation should be stronger than in any other; for the agents of authority have only that prestige which authority lends them, and in order that they may preserve this prestige, it is necessary that they should have considerable power without ceasing to be absolutely dependent upon the chief, so that they may be subjected to the most vigilant surveillance.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION.

The administrative organisation of the Empire, like the greater part of the institutions of that epoch, had an immediate object to fulfil, and a distant end to attain. Centralisation afforded the only means of constituting France so as to establish a stable regime, and form a compact unity capable of resisting Europe, and of supporting, at a later moment, liberty. The excess of centralisation, under the Empire, ought not to be considered as a definitive and settled system, but rather as a means of arriving at a settled system. In all the institutions of the Empire this is the predominant idea and the general tendency, which it is especially necessary to investigate and understand.

A good administration is composed of a regular

system of taxes, of a prompt and impartial mode of collecting them; of a system of finances which assures public credit; of an honorable magistracy which will cause the laws to be respected;—finally, of a system of administrative machinery which will cause the life to circulate from the centre to the extremities, and from the extremities to the centre. But that which especially distinguishes a good administration, is, that it calls forth all kinds of merit, and all rare faculties to illuminate its career and put in operation all improvements—that it represses with vigor all abuses—that it meliorates the lot of the poorer classes—that it rouses to activity all branches of industry—that it holds a just balance between rich and poor, between those who labor and those who employ, between the agents of power and those who are controlled by them.

The Convention had divided France into departments. The Emperor facilitated the exercise of power by the creation of the offices of prefect, sub-prefect, mayor, and adjoint. France was further divided into 398 communal arrondissements. Each department had a general council and a council of the prefecture; the first presided over the distribution of public burdens, and watched the special agent of power; the second decided upon claims of individuals against the administration.

The Emperor rejoiced at Saint Helena in the recollection of having instituted the offices of a minister of the treasury, and a minister secretary of state. The minister of the treasury concentrated all the resources and controlled all the expenditures of the Empire. The secretary of state issued all acts of government; he was the minister of the ministers, imparting life to all intermediate actions, the grand notary of the Empire, signing and legalizing all documents.

The Emperor introduced order and economy into all branches of the public service, as well as into the administration of all the institutions of charity. He re-established the general direction of the forests, of the registry, and of the custom-houses, which had before been superintended by collective administrations. The administration of the forests was rendered more economical and more simple; that of the registry was rendered less onerous, by a better distribution of the taxes.

As to the military administration, we see in the *Mémorial de Sainte Helène* that Napoleon found it too extended. "They had centralized at "Paris," said he, "the direction of the markets, "of the furnishing materials, of the making up, "and subdivided the correspondence of the ministry "among as many persons as there were regiments. "But, on the contrary, the correspondences should

"have been centralized and the resources sub-"divided by transporting them into the several "localities."

The judiciary order, under the Directory, was composed of 417 correctional or criminal tribunals, and of 1,798 civil tribunals. In 1800, a tribunal of first instance was established in each communal arrondissement; and it had also cognizance of matters of correctional police, an arrangement which very much facilitated the administration of justice among the citizens. Above these tribunals of first instance, were constituted 29 courts of appeal. Each department had a criminal tribunal. The court of cassation sat at Paris. In 1810 the courts of appeal and the criminal courts were united, and received the title of imperial courts. They had cognizance both of civil and of criminal matters. The courts of criminal justice were abolished. The courts of assizes and the special courts were branches of the imperial courts. The union of these two kinds of justice had two advantages; first, to give a guaranty of justice to the accused in subjecting him to a less rigorous jurisdiction, one which was not exclusively confined to the discovery of crimes, in the matters which were brought before it; second, the civil magistracy being generally respected, and the criminal magistracy being, from the very nature of its functions, unpopular, the fusion of these two

judiciary bodies resulted in causing the criminal magistracy to participate in the public respect which surrounded the civil magistracy.

As a proof of the excellence of the judiciary institutions of the Empire, it is well to remark that crimes constantly diminished in number, and that the number of prisoners of state, which was 9,000 on the 18th Brumaire, was reduced to 150 in 1814.

The finances of a great state, ought, according to the Emperor, to provide the means of meeting the exigencies of extraordinary circumstances, and even of the vicissitudes of the most obstinate wars, without recourse to the imposition of new taxes, the settlement of which is always difficult. His system consisted in having a large number of taxes which pressed lightly upon the people in ordinary times, and of which the percentage was raised or lowered according to public need, by means of additional centimes.

It is well known to how many abuses the collection of taxes was subjected before the 18th Brumaire, and the treasury possessed at that epoch only 150,000 francs. The dividends and pensions of the State were paid only in paper, which was at a considerable discount. Payments into the treasury were made in more than forty different kinds of things. It was impossible to make up a budget.

At the commencement of the Consulate, Pitt, our terrible adversary, thought he saw in the deficiency of money and of credit the near ruin of France. He did not know all the resources within the reach of a skilful and strong government. One year sufficed Napoleon, after the 18th Brumaire, to regulate the collection of contributions; so that, while abolishing all violent processes, he met the expenditures, diminished the taxes, restored a metallic currency, and held three hundred millions of francs in securities.

"Finances founded upon a good system of ag-"riculture never fail;" these were the words of the First Consul.[1] Facts have proved that he was right.

By the order and regularity which he introduced into the administration and into the budgets, he revived credit. He favored the creation of the bank of France; but while he rendered it independent of the government, he reserved over it a power of control. He required, not that it should lend him money, but that it should afford facilities for realizing economically the revenues of the State, at convenient times and places. He showed constantly a disposition to come to its assistance in moments of difficulty. "Notwithstanding the bad "spirit and the distrust with which certain gov-"ernors of the bank are animated," said he in

[1] Letter of Napoleon to the King of England.

1805, "I will, if necessary, stop the pay of my sol-"diers to sustain the bank." It was his intention to establish branches of this institution in all the great cities of France.

He created the office of minister of the treasury independent of the minister of finances. He did not wish an alliance between the bank and the treasury, because he thought that a simple movement of funds might disclose a secret of State. One of the most important innovations which were introduced into the treasury, was the keeping of accounts by double entry.

France ought to rejoice that the system of borrowing, which at this time weighs so heavily upon England, was not put in practice under the Empire. Napoleon had settled upon different principles, in limiting by a special law the sum total of the public debt to eighty million francs of annual dividends.

Among the meliorations which ought to be credited to the Empire is the law which required receivers-general, notaries, and stock-brokers to give bonds. For a new government it was essential that the price of public stocks should be maintained in a progressive state of improvement; and the natural consequence of this necessity was a right of police and surveillance over those who, speculating only upon the rise and fall of public stocks, might have an interest to cause them to

fall. The enlightened investigations of the Emperor advanced so far as to cause the tariff of annuities to be rectified, because not in accordance with the calculation of probabilities.

He established the sinking-fund, and expressed himself thus on that occasion: "It is said that a "sinking-fund should be only a machine for bor- "rowing; that may be true; but *the time has not* "*come for France to found her finances upon* "*loans.*" He created a "*caisse de service*," which was charged with the principal duty of effecting with rapidity the local application of the receipts to the expenditures in the departments. He opened accounts current with the receivers-general.

It was his intention to create "*caisses d'activité*," the increasing amounts of funds belonging to which would have been consecrated to works of public improvement. There would have been a "*caisse d'activité*" of the Empire for national works, a "*caisse*" of the departments for local works, and a "*caisse*" of the communes for municipal works.

In 1806, tolls and road taxes were abolished; and a law authorized the levying of a tax upon the entry of goods, in all cities in which the civil hospitals had not sufficient revenues.

The Council of Liquidation, instituted in 1802, ceased its labors the 30th of June, 1810. It had

liquidated all the debts of the State; that long-continuing open wound of the Revolution, as M. Thibaudeau expressed it, was at length closed.

The Emperor estimated that France needed a budget of 800,000,000 francs for a state of war, and of 600,000,000 francs for a state of peace. The budget, under the Empire, never exceeded the above-mentioned figures, except after the reverse of Moscow; even then, in spite of war, it was 400,000,000 francs less than that with which twenty-four years of profound peace have burdened France. The Emperor did not expend for his own uses half his civil list; he employed the excess in forming a reserve fund, or in executing public works, or in assisting manufactures. In 1814, all his reserves were consecrated to carry on the national war.

A good system of settling accounts is the indispensable complement of a good system of finances. The constitution of the year 8 had preserved a commission of control to sit in judgment upon accounts; it was not equal to the immense work accumulated upon it. From 1792 to 1807, of 11,477 accounts, the commission had passed upon only 8,793. The Emperor, anxious to regulate every thing, established the court of accounts, which brought up the arrears of this important branch of the public service.

The Emperor has been reproached with having,

in adjusting the taxes, too much favored landed property. It was his opinion that, during times of peace, it was best to husband the resources of direct imposts, because these alone in time of war support all the burden; and that it was best to take advantage of the activity which peace imparts to consumption to levy upon it indirect contributions which it cannot furnish in times of war. Besides, there may have been a political object in this temporary preference; for it should be noticed that the political changes which had taken place since 1789 had created about ten millions of landed proprietors; and that these proprietors, all whose interests were attached to the revolution, formed a class which the government had particular reasons for sustaining, because that body of new holders of land was called upon to form a public spirit. The Emperor said one day in the council of state: "The system of imposed taxes is "bad; under it there is neither property nor civil "liberty; for civil liberty depends upon the se- "curity of property. It does not exist in a coun- "try where the vote of the tax-payer may every "year be changed. One who has 3,000 francs "rent does not know how much will be left the "next year for his subsistence. The imposed tax "may absorb his whole income. We see men, for "a miserable interest of fifty or a hundred francs, "make solemn pleas before grave tribunals, and a

"simple clerk can, by a single stroke of his pen, "overburden you by several thousand francs! In "such a state of things property does not exist. "When I buy a piece of land, I do not know "what I am purchasing. In Lombardy, in Pied- "mont, they have a land tax assessment book. "Every one knows beforehand what he must pay. "The book is unalterable; changes are made in it "only in extraordinary cases, and after a formal "judgment. If the levy is increased, every one "bears his share according to the book, and he "can make his calculations in his office. One "knows what he has; and he has a property. "Why is there not public spirit in France? be- "cause a proprietor is obliged to court the favor "of the administration. If he stands ill with it, "he is ruined. Judgments upon reclamations are "arbitrary; for this reason in no other country "are people so servilely attached to government "as in France, because property is dependent "upon its favor. In Lombardy, on the contrary, "a proprietor lives upon his land, without troub- "ling himself as to who governs. Nothing has "ever been done in France for property. He "who will introduce a good law concerning assess- "ments (*cadastre*) will deserve a statue." In 1810 the assessment register (*cadastre*) was put in operation in 3,200 communes; about 600,000 pro-

prietors in these communes enjoyed the advantage of proportional equality.

Property in mines had never been regulated except imperfectly. In 1810 it was regulated by laws, and the Emperor created a body of engineers of mines.

The amelioration of the condition of the poorer classes was one of the first preoccupations of the Emperor. In a letter to the Minister of the Interior of the 2d November, 1807, he said that he would consider the doing away with mendicity a great glory. He established depots of mendicity; forty-two existed already in 1809. In order to find the most effectual means of relieving the misery of the people, he solicited the advice of all writers upon the subject. He founded the maternal institution, which was to have a council of administration in every great city of the Empire. The institution of the Sisters of Charity was re-established with all its ancient advantages, and without the abuses which had perverted its original intention. Six houses destined to receive the orphans of members of the Legion of Honor, to the number of 600, were established in 1810. The Hotel des Invalides received in 1803 a new organisation, and several branches were established at different points. Napoleon created asylums in the country for the veterans, where each person who was admitted received a rural tenement, a piece

of land producing a net income equal to the amount of his retiring pension.

In 1807, the property which a decree of the Convention had alienated from the hospitals was restored to them.

Convicts of the criminal tribunals, and of the correctional police, had been promiscuously mingled in the prisons with the suspected and the accused. The government adopted the system of central prisons, exclusively for those who had been condemned to imprisonment for a year or longer.

The Emperor desired that public worship should be gratuitous, and adapted to the people; that a decent burial should be granted to the poor without charge. "No one has a right," said he, "to "lay a tax upon the dead: the poor should not be "deprived because they are poor, of that which "consoles them in their poverty." He ordered that the churches should be opened gratuitously to the public; and that if a church was hung with black for the funeral services of a rich man, it should not be unhung until after performing the services for the poor. It was his intention to reduce the price of places in the pit of the Théatre Français on Sunday, in order that the poorer classes might enjoy the masterpieces of our literature. In the address which he delivered, in 1807, to the legislative body—he said that in every part of his Empire, even in the smallest village, the comfort of

the citizens and the value of land would be soon increased in consequence of the general system of amelioration which he had planned.

War prevented the complete realisation of so comprehensive a scheme, and arrested the execution of a great number of other philanthropic ameliorations. Among them we cite the desire to put a stop to the inconveniences existing at the house of detention of the prefecture of police in Paris, where honest men were obliged to pass the night in company with thieves and worse criminals.

Communes.—The administration of France was organizing its machinery. It was necessary, as has been before said, to centralize every thing, in order to ameliorate, vivify, and establish, with the intention to distribute later at the circumference its due proportion of power, which the centre had temporarily absorbed.

The Emperor was alive to the importance of a good communal administration, and said that care must be taken not to destroy the municipal spirit. He often took the side of the mayors against the prefects, and desired that they should be present at the inauguration of the mayors. It was his opinion that the taxes levied upon the entrance of goods into cities or towns, should be administered by the mayors for the benefit of the communes,

and that the prefects should confine themselves to simple superintendence.

To encourage, in the rural communes, exchanges and settlements, calculated to do away with the evils of excessive partition, and of the tying up of titles to land, the government exempted from paying the fees of registry, the first commune whose inhabitants should accomplish what was desired by a general mutual agreement.

The communal spirit is essentially conservative; all that it acquires, whether it be an abuse or an advantage, it holds with equal tenacity. In order to regenerate the communes, it was necessary to deprive them of a part of their rights, until their training should be completed; then, only, would have been granted to them a greater independence, without danger to the general welfare. The prosperity of the communes was the object of the most anxious solicitude of the Emperor.

"To work," said he, "for the prosperity of "36,000 communes, is to work for the prosperity "of 30,000,000 of population, by simplifying the "question, and by diminishing the difficulty per-"taining to great numbers, whose difference is in-"dicated by the proportion between 36,000 and 30,-"000,000." With this view the Emperor divided the communes into three classes: communes which were in debt; communes whose accounts were square; and communes having disposable resources.

By certain ways and means, which he explained to the minister of the interior, five years would have sufficed to clear away the indebted communes; there would then have remained only the two classes, viz.: those whose accounts were square, and those having disposable resources; and at the end of ten years every commune in France would have been in possession of disposable resources.

"The alienation of the property of the com-"munes, considered in reference to the progress "of agriculture," said the Emperor, "is the most "important question of political economy which "can be agitated." The discussion of it was cut short by the imperious necessities of war. In 1813, the lands, houses, and factories, belonging to the communes were sold; they retained the woods, pastures, turf-fields, and other property, which the inhabitants enjoyed in common, or from which they derived no revenue, as well as the buildings appropriated to the public service, and the places which contributed to the public health or pleasure. The property which was to be sold was conveyed to the sinking fund. The communes received, in five per cent. stock, an income equal to the net revenue derived from the property conveyed.

It is very clearly seen, from what precedes, that the intentions of the Emperor were all directed towards the amelioration of the material well-being of the country. It is also seen that

when the disasters of war compelled him to have recourse to expedients, the resources which he knew how to develop were not destructive of the interests of the country, and that they were different from the means employed by other governments in similar circumstances. He did not resort either to paper-money, or to forced loans, or to excessive borrowing, or to the depreciation of the value of coin, as was done even by Frederic the Great.

The Emperor had made precise discriminations among the resources of a State. "Once," said he, "only one kind of property was recognized, property in land; then came another kind, that of "industry, which is now engaged in a contest with "the first; it is the great contest of the field "against the counting-room, of the battlements "against the trades; then came a third kind, de-"rived from the enormous taxes levied upon the "people, and which, distributed by the neutral "and impartial hands of government, affords pro-"tection against the monopoly of the others, serves "as their medium of communication, and prevents "their proceeding to acts of violence." He made the following classification:

Agriculture; the foundation of the Empire.

Manufactures; representing the comfort, the happiness of the population.

Foreign commerce; representing superabun-

dance, and the good employment of Agriculture and Manufactures.

Foreign commerce, very much inferior to the two other branches in its results, was for this reason constantly subordinated to them in the mind of Napoleon. "Foreign commerce is made "for the two other branches—they are not made "for it. The interests of these three essential "bases are divergent, often opposite. I have "always treated them with reference to their "natural rank."

Agriculture did not cease at any time to make great advances under the Empire. "Agriculture, "like all other arts," said Napoleon, "perfects it-"self by means of comparison and example." He directed the prefects to make known to him the agricultural proprietors who distinguished themselves, whether by a better understood or more rational culture, or by a more careful training of farm animals and improvement of breeds. In such departments as were behindhand in the arts of cultivation, the good proprietors were induced to send their children to study and learn the methods employed in the departments where agriculture was in a flourishing state. Praise and distinction were awarded to those who excelled.

The rural code, projected in 1802, was submitted in 1808 to commissions of consultation, formed in each branch of the court of appeal, and

composed of the most distinguished judges, administrators, and agriculturists. This code could not be completed under the Empire.

In 1807 the government created, in the veterinary school of Alfort, a professorship of rural economy.

Manufactures were not only encouraged, under the Empire, but it may be said that they were, in a certain sense, created. They attained in a short time a high degree of prosperity.

The Emperor, in saying that manufactures represented a new kind of property, expressed in a single word its importance and its nature. The spirit of property is, of itself, encroaching and exclusive. Property in land had had its vassals and its serfs. The revolution enfranchised the land; but the new property—that of manufactures—growing daily, tended to pass through the same phases as the first, and to have, like the first, its vassals and its serfs.

Napoleon foresaw this tendency, which is inherent in every system which advances by conquest: and while he protected the masters of industrial establishments, he did not forget the rights of the workmen. He established in Lyons, and later in other manufacturing cities, a council of discreet men (*prud'hommes*), veritable judges of the peace in industrial matters, whose duty it was to settle the differences which might arise

between employers and employed. Regulations were published concerning the police of factories, trade-marks, disputants, and the respective duties of workmen and manufacturers. Chambers of consultation—concerning manufactures, factories, arts, and crafts—were instituted. There was inaugurated at the ministry of the interior a council-general of factories and manufactures. The Emperor assisted often, by means of his civil list, branches of manufacture which, for want of a market, were in danger of stopping work. It was his intention to aid industry by the establishment of a special fund for that purpose. He wrote, after the battle of Eylau, to the minister of the interior: "My object is not to prevent this or that "merchant from failing; the resources of the State "would not suffice for that; but to prevent a "branch of manufacture from perishing. My ob-"ject is to supply the place of sales by a temporary "loan. I wish to found a stable and permanent "establishment, to endow it with a capital of forty "or fifty millions, so that, in times of cessation of "demand, and stagnation, the position of the man-"ufacturer shall be less severe."

The Emperor raised up manufacturing industry, by causing the sciences to co-operate in its improvement. "If I had had sufficient time," said he, "soon there would have been no crafts in "France. The arts would have taken their place."

Indeed, under his reign, chemistry and mechanics were applied to the improvement of all branches of industry. Besides, how many new machines were created, and useful inventions made, during the imperial regime.

If the spirit of association did not make greater progress in France, it was not for want of encouragement on the part of the chief of the State; for in the midst of the preoccupations of war, he ordered the minister of the interior to endeavor to sell to companies the canals which were finished, and enjoined upon him in 1807 to cause the iron bridge of Jena to be constructed, as the Pont des Arts had been, by a company.

The Emperor always opposed the re-establishment of wardenships and guilds. He founded schools of arts and crafts at Châlons. High prizes were offered for the encouragement of all inventions. The sum of a million francs was promised to the inventor of the best machine for spinning flax; a first prize of 40,000 francs and a second of 20,000, to the inventor of the best machinery for picking, carding, combing, and spinning wool.

He created the cotton manufacture in France, including yarns, cloths, and prints. Before the Empire the art of spinning cotton was not known in France; and cotton cloths were imported from abroad. Cotton was cultivated advantageously in the South of France, in Corsica, and in Italy; the

crop was estimated in 1810 at 100,000 kilogrammes. Merino sheep were distributed throughout the Empire. He gave directions to search for granite, and to this we are indebted for the quarries which are now worked.[1] European products took the place of foreign products; pastel was substituted for indigo; beet-root for the sugar-cane; garance for cochineal; artificial soda for foreign soda; and now all these products are sources of wealth to France. The manufacture of beet-root sugar amounts to 50,000,000 kilogrammes a year.

Foreign commerce beyond the seas could not, on account of war, be much extended. But the commerce of the interior received a great development; for it may be said that at that time the commerce of the interior embraced the commerce of the European continent, from Hamburg to Rome.

A council-general of commerce, as of industry, was installed under the minister of the interior.

In all his treaties, the Emperor endeavored to favor French commerce. In 1808, he opened the markets of Spain to the national products, by suppressing the prohibition of the silks of Lyons, Tours, and Turin. He secured a market in like manner for the cloths of Carcassonne, the linens of Bretagne, and French ironware. He desired that commerce should establish at St. Petersburgh

[1] Bignon.

French houses, which should receive French merchandise, and introduce into France the merchandise of Russia. And to this time, thanks to a treaty made by the Emperor with Russia, France obtains from that country her timber for the building of ships.

The commercial code was completed and adopted in 1807.

The public works, which the Emperor caused to be executed upon so great a scale, were not only one of the principal causes of the internal prosperity of the country, but they contributed much towards social progress. In fact, these works, while multiplying the means of communication, produced three great advantages: First, they employed all the idle, and thus assisted the poorer classes. Second, they favored and encouraged agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; the creation of new roads and canals, increasing the value of lands, and facilitating the transportation and sale of products. Third, they destroyed the spirit of locality, and removed barriers, such as those which separate not only the different provinces of a State, but different nations, by rendering easier all the connections and relations of men, and drawing closer the bonds which ought to unite them. The system of Napoleon consisted in executing by the State a great number of works, and after finishing them, in selling them and applying

the proceeds to other works. It is important to notice that, in spite of war, the Emperor found the means of expending in twelve years, 1,005,000,000 francs in public works. And the man who had so great treasures at his disposition, who distributed 700,000,000 francs in endowments, never possessed any private property!

Public instruction ought, under an enlightened regime like that of the Empire, to participate in the impulse given by the chief of the State to all branches of the administration. "Only those," said the Emperor, "who seek to deceive the peo-"ple, and rule for their own advantage, wish to "keep them in ignorance; for the more enlight-"ened the people is, the greater will be the num-"ber of those convinced of the necessity of hav-"ing and of supporting laws, and the more settled, "prosperous, and happy will society be; and if a "time shall ever arrive when intelligence will be "injurious to the masses, it will only be when the "government, in hostility to the interests of the "people, shall crowd it into a forced position, or "reduce the lowest class to starvation; for then "the multitude will use its greater intelligence "either to defend itself or to commit crimes."

The National Convention had already done a great deal towards overthrowing the Gothic edifice of instruction. But in times of trouble, it is difficult to found; and the projected establishments of

instruction remained incomplete and unfinished. There were primary schools only in the cities; the central schools were vacant. In 1802, Napoleon divided the institutions of instruction into three classes: first, the municipal or primary schools, of which there were to be 23,000; second, the secondary schools or communal colleges; third, the lyceums and special schools, maintained at the expense of the public treasury. The Institute was at the head. The greatest activity was imparted to the creation of the schools. The cities and the departments disputed for them with emulation, and offered to bear the expenses of them.

There were established at first forty-five lyceums; there was to have been one at least for each arrondissement of every tribunal of appeals. Three commissions of savants went through the country, to provide the lyceums with all the materials of instruction. There were 6,400 pupils pensioners of the State.

The government caused to be written works concerning instruction,—in mathematics, by La Place, Monge, and Lacroix; in natural history, by Duménil; in mineralogy, by Brongniart; in chemistry, by Adet; in astronomy, by Biot; in physics, by Haüy.

The title of French Prytaneum, under which, until then, several colleges had been comprised, was given in 1803 exclusively to the College of

Saint-Cyr,—a school, free of charge, reserved for the children of officers who had died on the field of battle. The pupils of this school, after having undergone examination, passed to the special school of Fontainebleau, which was also created at that epoch.

There were established a special naval school, and ship-schools at Toulon and Brest.

Two practical schools of mines were founded: one at Geislautern, in the department of the Saar; the other at Pesey, in the department of Mont-Blanc.

In 1806, the Emperor felt the necessity of regulating instruction by a general system. It has been charged against this system that it shackled liberty; but, as has been before said, the time for liberty had not come. When a government finds itself at the head of a nation which has just thrown off all ideas derived from the past, it is its duty not only to guide the present generation, but to bring up the rising generation in the principles which caused the revolution to triumph. "There can "be no stable political state," said the Emperor, "if there be not a corps of instruction with set- "tled principles. The creation of such a body "will, on the contrary, fortify civil order."

The system of education, provided with suitable restrictions, was a great and beautiful monument in harmony with the plan of the imperial

organisation, which addressed itself to all capacities, opening the way, tracing the lines with precision, and removing all obstacles. To all of you who desire to devote yourselves to the art of instruction, as to the art of medicine, or to the science of jurisprudence, the career is open: provided only that society have the proper guaranties that you are capable of teaching morality and not vice; that you know how to distinguish between healthful plants and poisonous juices; and that, pupils of the laws, you have studied their spirit, and know how to defend them!

The first regulations adopted by Napoleon had caused great progress to be made in public instruction. Numerous schools had been established, but they were isolated and independent of each other. The career of teachers and professors was not assured; they were subjected to no general regulation. The Emperor conceived the plan of connecting by intimate relations all these establishments; by uniting in one body all the professors, and raising the consideration and importance of their occupation to a level with the most honorable employments.

Public instruction, in the whole Empire, was intrusted exclusively to the university. The university was composed of as many academies as there were courts of appeal. The schools belonging to an academy were placed in the following

order: 1st, the faculties of the high sciences, and for the conferring of degrees; 2d, the lyceums; 3d, the colleges and secondary communal schools; 4th, institutions, schools kept by private teachers; 5th, boarding-schools belonging to private teachers, and devoted to studies less advanced than those pursued at the institutions; 6th, the little or primary schools. The little seminaries were under the superintendence of the university.

There were five orders of faculties; those of theology, law, medicine, mathematical sciences, and physical sciences. There was a faculty of theology for every metropolitan church, besides one at Strasbourg, and one at Geneva for the reformed religion. The schools of law formed twelve faculties; the schools of medicine five. A faculty of sciences and a faculty of letters were established near each lyceum, the *chef-lieu* of an academy.

In each faculty the degrees were those of bachelor, licenciate, and doctor; they were conferred after examinations.

The administrative hierarchy of instruction comprised nineteen degrees. No one could be called to a place without having passed through the inferior places, and having obtained in the different faculties a rank corresponding to the nature and importance of the functions. The functionaries were divided into titularies, officers of the university, and officers of the academies; they were sub-

jected to strict discipline. After thirty years' uninterrupted service, they could be declared *emeriti*, and receive a retiring pension.

The university was presided over and governed by the grand master, appointed by the Emperor, and removable at his will.

The council of the university was composed of thirty members. At the *chef-lieu* of each academy there was an academic council of ten members.

There were inspector-generals of the university whose duty it was to visit establishments of instruction at the order of the grand master.

There was to be established near each academy, and in the colleges and lyceums, one or more schools, for the purpose of forming good masters for the primary schools.

The university was to strive, without cessation, to perfect instruction in all its branches, to encourage the composition of classical works, and especially to take care that instruction in the sciences should be always up to the level of all acquired knowledge, and that the spirit of system should never arrest progress.

The lyceums, of which the number was brought up, in 1811, to one hundred, were to be the nurseries of professors, rectors, and masters. The Emperor desired to present to them great motives to emulation, in order that the young men who might devote themselves to instruction should have be-

fore them a perspective of promotion from one grade to another, up even to the chief places of the State. There were in each lyceum twenty pupils maintained at the expense of government; eighty received assistance to the extent of one-half, and fifty to the extent of three-quarters of their expenses, so that the poor endowed with talent might have a means of making themselves known.

In the impulse which he imparted to instruction, Napoleon replaced the study of the dead languages, which until then had been almost exclusively taught, by the study of the most useful physical and mathematical sciences, and in the same spirit he opposed the desire to give medicine pre-eminence over surgery.

The Polytechnic school, the foundation of which is to be credited to the Directory, received a great development, and furnished distinguished officers to the army, and savants in all branches of practical science.

The Normal school, planned under the Convention, received its beneficial settlement and establishment under the Empire.

Napoleon created, under the title of imperial houses, two establishments; one for the education of daughters of members of the Legion of Honor, the other for the education of orphans. In the first, the pupils received a brilliant education; in

the second, they were taught all the employments of women suited to enable them to gain their own subsistence.

Provision was made for children whose education was confided to public charity. They consisted of three classes; foundlings, children who had been deserted by their parents, and poor orphans. An asylum in each arrondissement received them.

A school of anatomical preparations was established at Rouen. The school of arts and trades founded in 1803 at Compiègne, and afterwards transfered to Châlons upon the Marne, was intended to distribute throughout the country the benefits of an industrial education. In 1806, a second was created at Beaupréau, and a third in the abbey of Saint Maximilian, near Trèves.

The French school of fine arts, at Rome, was restored to activity and transferred to the Villa Medici. Fifteen pupils were sent and maintained there.

The Emperor did not confine himself to creating schools, he also encouraged all kinds of merit by prizes and recompenses, for which, with a view to excite emulation, all the savants of Europe were invited to compete. A prize of 60,000 francs was offered to the one who should make an important advance in galvanism, and another an annual medal of the value of 3,000 francs for the best new experiments which, in the judgment of the Institute,

should be made in the same branch. In 1808, the celebrated English chemist, Davy, gained the annual prize.

The decennial prizes which were then founded, were to encourage all sciences and all arts. There were nine of 10,000 francs each, and thirteen of 5,000 francs.

Among the numerous encouragements granted to the sciences, should be mentioned the prize of 12,000 francs promised to the author of the best treatise upon the disease called the croup.

The Emperor consecrated the right of property to the heirs of authors dying and leaving posthumous works.

He conceived the idea of establishing a sort of literary university, composed of about thirty professorships, so connected that they should form a complete system—adapted to facilitate literary, geographical, historical, and political researches; where, for instance, any one who desired to study an epoch, could obtain information as to the works he ought to read, the memoirs and chronicles he ought to refer to; where any one intending to travel could obtain necessary information concerning his journey.

"The only reasonable encouragement for liter-
"ature," said the Emperor, "is membership in
"the Institute; this gives to poets character and
"consideration in the State." He desired that a

second class of the Institute should form a sort of literary tribunal, charged with the duty of giving analytical (*raisonnée*) and impartial criticisms of works of a certain degree of merit which should appear.

He spared nothing to honor the memory of deceased savants. At Osterode, all covered with the dust of battle, he gave directions to place the statue of D'Alembert in the hall of session of the Institute. He caused monuments to be erected to Voltaire and to Rousseau.

The busts of Tronchet and of Portalis, compilers of the first plan of the Code Napoleon, were placed in the hall of the Council of State.

At Cambray a monument was erected over the ashes of Fénélon.

In spite of wars the imperial government neglected nothing that could advance the sciences. Thus in 1806, among other things, he ordered the publication, at his expense, of the history of the travels and discoveries made from 1800 to 1804, by Péron, Lesueur, and Captain Baudin.

Biot and Arago were sent to Spain, to continue the measurement of the meridian arc as far as the Balearic Islands.

The National Institute was required to make up a general *resumé* and picture of the progress of science, letters, and arts, from the year 1789; it was to be presented to the government by

a deputation, every five years. This body was also expected to state its views concerning discoveries, the application of which it might deem useful to the public service; concerning the assistance and encouragement of which the sciences, arts, and letters stood in need; and concerning improvements in the methods employed in the different branches of public instruction.

Thus it is seen that the Emperor gave to instruction the same impulse which he gave to industry, and, as Thibaudeau has said,—it was the pupils of the lyceums, who, after the fall of the Empire, continued in art, science, and letters, the glory of France.

Of the army. It would be beyond our subject to investigate all the improvements which were introduced into the organisation of the army, and to recount its illustrious deeds. The whole world knows the exploits of those heroic soldiers, who, from Arcole to Waterloo, seconded the gigantic enterprises of Napoleon, and died for him with happiness, because they knew that they died for France. Besides, it would take too long to recapitulate all that the army did for the Emperor, and all that he did for the army. Let us examine solely, in a social point of view, the military organisation.

The conscription, which, unhappily, in consequence of the continuance of war, was such a

burden to France, was one of the greatest institutions of the age. Not only did it consecrate the principle of equality, but, as has been said by General Foy, "it was calculated to be the palladium of "our independence, because, placing the nation in "the army, and the army in the nation, it furnished "inexhaustible resources for defence." The principle which presided over the formation of the law concerning conscription was to have received greater developments; and it may be said, that the ideas of the Emperor have been put in operation by other governments, among them by Prussia. It was not sufficient that the army was recruited from the whole nation; it was also necessary that the whole nation should, in case of disaster, form a reserve to the army. The Emperor said: "Never does a nation which repels an "invasion want men; but, often, soldiers." The military system of Prussia offers immense advantages; it removes the barriers which separate the citizen and the soldier; it gives the same motive, and the same object to all men under arms—the defence of the soil of the country; it furnishes the means of maintaining a great military force, with the least possible expense; it enables a whole population to resist invasion with success. The army, in Prussia, is a great school, in which all the youth instruct themselves in the art of arms; the landwehr, which is divided into three bans, is the re-

serve of the army. In the military organisation, there are then several classifications, but all are derived from the same source, all look towards the same end. There is emulation, not rivalry, among the organized corps.

It is well known that the national guard, which had fallen into disuse in the last years of the Republic, was re-established by Napoleon in 1806. In 1812 it was divided into three bans, composed: the first, of men of 20 to 26 years (of the six last years of service of the conscription), who had not before been enlisted; the second, of all the able-bodied men of 26 to 40 years; the third, or *arrière ban*, of men from 40 to 60 years of age. It is evident that this system was completely similar to that which is now in vigor in Prussia. "At the "restoration of peace," said the Emperor, "I "should have brought all the sovereigns to main- "tain only their guard; I should have proceeded "to organize the national guard in such a manner "as that each citizen would know his post in time "of need: then," added he, "would have been "seen a nation well cemented, able to resist both "time and men."

POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

We have passed rapidly in review the administrative organisation of the Empire, and called attention to the principal material benefits of that

epoch. Let us now cast a rapid glance over its political organisation.

In the first place, let me be permitted to say that I consider the tendency which exists in France, to desire always to copy and adopt the institutions of foreign countries, to be a misfortune. Under the Republic, people were Roman; then the English constitution appeared to be thought the masterpiece of civilisation; the titles of "*noble peer*" and "*honorable member*" seemed more liberal than those of tribune and senator; as if in France, that country of honor, to be "*honorable*" was a title and not a quality. Finally arose the American school. Shall we never be—ourselves? England, it is true, has offered us for a long time a splendid spectacle of parliamentary liberty. But what is the chief element of the English constitution? What is the foundation of the edifice? The aristocracy. Suppress the aristocracy, and in England there would be no political organisation; "the same as in Rome," said Napoleon, "if re-"ligion had been taken away, nothing would have "remained."

In the United States of America, we see also great things; but what single point of comparison is there between that country and France? The United States have not yet become a social world, for the organisation of such a world presupposes stability and order; stability, attachment to the

soil, to landed property—conditions impossible to fulfil so long as the commercial spirit, and the disproportion between the number of the inhabitants and the extent of territory shall cause land to be considered as merchandise. Man has not yet taken root in America; he is not incorporated with the land; his interests are personal, not territorial.[1] In America, commerce stands in the first rank; then come manufactures; and, last, agriculture. It is the European order reversed. (*See* page 65.)

France, in many points of view, is at the head of civilisation; and yet it seems to be doubted whether she may give herself laws which are uniquely French—that is to say, laws adapted to her own wants, modelled upon her own nature, and in harmony with her political position! Let us adopt from foreign countries such improvements as long experience has consecrated; but let us preserve in our laws French forms, French instinct, and French spirit. "Politics," says a writer, M. Dannou, "is the application of his-"tory to the ethics of society." The same may be said as to constitutions: it is necessary that the compact which unites the different members of a social organisation, should derive its form from the experience of the past, from the present state of the society, and from its prospective spirit. A constitution should be framed specially for the

[1] See, upon this subject, De Tocqueville.

nation to which it is to be adapted. It should be like a garment which, if well made, will fit but one man.

In a political point of view, the Emperor could organize France only provisionally; but all his institutions contained a germ of improvement which at the restoration of peace he would have developed.

To begin, let us establish one truth, namely, that when the French people proclaimed Napoleon Emperor, France was so fatigued by disorders and continual changes, that all concurred to invest the chief of the state with the most absolute power. The Emperor had no need to covet it; it was thrust upon him. By as much as public opinion had formerly demanded the diminution of executive power, because it was deemed hostile, by so much did opinion exert itself to augment it, when it was satisfied that the executive power was tutelary and remedial. It depended only on Napoleon to have neither a legislative body nor a senate, so weary were men of those eternal discussions, kept up, as he expressed it, by a mob of men who disputed with acrimony about the tint, before having secured the triumph of the color.

The Emperor Napoleon did not commit the fault of many statesmen—that of desiring to subject the nation to an abstract theory, which becomes, in such case, for a country a bed of Pro-

crustes; he studied, on the contrary, with care, the character of the French people, their wants, and their present condition; and upon the data acquired he organized a system, which he could continue to modify according to circumstances. "Where "should I have been," said he, "face to face with "all Europe with a government built of ruins, the "foundations of which were not yet firmly seated, "and those forms to be continually combined "with new circumstances depending even upon "variations of foreign politics, if I had subjected "these combinations to absolute methods which "admit of no modifications, and which are efficient "only because they are immutable?"

The predominant idea, which presided over all the internal establishments of the Emperor, was the desire to found civil order.[1] France was surrounded by powerful neighbors. Since Henry IV., she had been the object of the jealousy of Europe. She required a large permanent army to maintain her independence. That army was organized; it had its colonels, its generals, its marshals; but the rest of the nation was not organized; and by the side

[1] "I wish to organize in France civil order. Up to the "present time there have been in the world only two powers, "the military and the ecclesiastical. The barbarians, who in- "vaded the Roman Empire, could not found a solid establish- "ment, because they were destitute both of a body of priests "and of a civil order." Words of the Emperor before the Council of State.

of this military hierarchy, by the side of these dignities to which glory lent so much lustre, it was necessary that there should be civil dignities of equal weight and influence; otherwise the government would be always in danger of falling into the hands of a fortunate soldier. The United States offer us a striking example of the inconveniences, which attend the weakness of a civil authority. Although, in that country, there are none of the fermentations of discord, which for a long time yet will trouble Europe, the central power, being weak, is alarmed at every independent organisation; for every independent organisation threatens it. It is not military power alone which is feared; but money power—the bank: hence a division of parties. The president of the bank might have more power than the President of the country; for a much stronger reason, a successful general would soon eclipse the civil power. In the Italian republics, as in England, the aristocracy constituted the organized civil order; but France having, happily, no longer any privileged bodies, it was by means of a democratic hierarchy, which should not offend the principle of equality, that the same advantages were to be secured.

Let us examine in this point of view the constitutions of the Empire.

The principles upon which the imperial laws were settled were:

Civil equality, in harmony with the democratic principle.

A hierarchy, in harmony with the principles of order and stability.

Napoleon was the supreme chief of the state, the elect of the people, the representative of the nation. In his public acts, it was the Emperor's pride to acknowledge that he owed every thing to the French people. When at the foot of the Pyrenees, surrounded by kings, and the object of their homage, he disposed of thrones and empires, he claimed with energy the title of first *representative of the people*, a title which seemed about to be given exclusively to members of the legislative body.[1]

The imperial power alone was hereditary. No other office in France was hereditary; all other offices were open to election or merit.

There were two chambers; the senate and the legislative body.

The senate, of which the name is more popular than that of the chamber of peers, was composed of members nominated by the electoral colleges; one-third of them only subject to appointment by the Emperor. It was presided over by one of the members, selected by the chief of the state; it watched over the Constitution, it was the protec-

[1] See the note published by order of the Emperor in the *Moniteur* of December 19, 1808.

tor of individual liberty and of the liberty of the press.[1] The senate being, next to the sovereign, the first power of the state, the Emperor sought to give it the greatest weight and importance circumstances would allow; for, when the influence which organized bodies exert does not follow the order of their political hierarchy, it is conclusive evidence that the Constitution is not in harmony with public opinion; it is in such case a machine in which the wheels do not work well together.

Therefore, to give influence to the senate, the idea of the Emperor was not to make of it simply a tribunal, or an asylum for all the ministers whom public opinion had condemned; but, on the contrary, to compose it of all the high excellences, and to make it the guardian and protector of all the liberties of the nation.[2]

[1] M. Bignon, in his History of the Empire, expresses himself as follows: "The system established was not bad in itself, "nor were the liberties of the nation left entirely without "guaranties. If these guarantics are illusory, if the senato-"rial commissions upon individual liberty and the liberty of "the press are to become inefficient and inactive, it is because "France is going through an order of events in which ques-"tions of domestic interest and private right will inevitably "be subordinate to the necessities of the executive, and to the "power of action upon foreign countries."

[2] It was the opinion of the Emperor that an hereditary chamber could not be established in France, and that it would have no influence. He remarked in 1815, to Benjamin Constant, who was one of the most ardent partisans of the Eng-

To render the senators independent, and to attach them to the soil of the provinces, there were established in each arrondissement of the court of appeals a senatorial estate returning to the incumbent senator 20,000 to 25,000 francs income for life.

The members of the legislative body were nominated by the electoral colleges of the departments, and were paid during the sessions.

It is important to call to mind here the mode of election introduced by Napoleon. In the Constitution of the year 8, Sieyes had invented a system of representation by Notables, which deprived

lish Constitution: "Your Chamber of Peers would be, in a "short time, only a camp or an ante-chamber."

The President of the senate convoked the senate at the order of the Emperor; at the request of the senatorial commissions upon individual liberty and the liberty of the press; or of a senator for the purpose of objecting to a decree of the legislative body; or of an officer of the senate, concerning internal affairs of the body.

Each of the senatorial commissions was composed of seven members. Every person arrested and not brought to trial within ten days of the time of arrest could apply to this commission.

A high imperial court was established to take cognizance of crimes against the internal safety of the state, of misdemeanors, and abuses of office committed by ministers and councillors of state, and of abuses of power committed by the imperial agents, civil and military, etc.

The seat of the high court was in the senate; the arch-chancellor of the Empire presided over it; the forms of procedure were protective; the debates and judgments were open to the public.

the people of all participation in the elections. Although Sieyes, a former member of the Constituent Assembly, of the Convention, and of the Directory, was a friend of liberty, he found himself compelled to do this, by circumstances, and in order to preserve the Republic; for, before the 18th Fructidor, the elections returned royalists to the legislative body; the 18th Fructidor drove them out. Then came the turn of the Jacobins; the 28th Floréal eliminated them; but in the following elections they appeared to maintain themselves, and took measures to dismiss their rivals. There was nothing permanent; it was, each year, as Thibaudeau himself says, the triumph of a party.

But the firm and national march of the Consulate had already created a strong and compact France; and the vessel of state was in less danger of being wrecked upon one of the two rocks which were always to be feared—terror and the *ancien régime.*

Napoleon, created Consul for life, suppressed the lists of Notabilities of Sieyes, and established district assemblies, composed of all the citizens residing in the district. These assemblies chose the members of the electoral colleges of the arrondissements and of the departments. Those who paid the largest amount of taxes imposed in the department were eligible to the electoral colleges; but there could be added to the colleges of the ar-

rondissements ten members, and to the colleges of the departments, twenty members not proprietors, selected from among the members of the Legion of Honor, or from among those who had distinguished themselves by services. The colleges nominated two candidates for vacant places in the legislative body; the college of the department alone nominated candidates for the places of senators; one of the two candidates must be taken from elsewhere than the college making the nomination.

Examining the spirit which dictated these laws, framed at an epoch when the people were emerging from violent discussions, when war was always threatening, and when the most sincere friend of liberty saw the necessity of limiting the rights of election, it is impossible not to recognize that it was the intention of the Emperor to re-establish the elective system upon the broadest basis, and the following words of the orator of government at that time, confirm this opinion: "The "electoral colleges bind the high authorities and "the people reciprocally to each other; they are "intermediate bodies between power and the "people; they imply a classification of citizens, an "organisation of the nation. In that classification "it was necessary to combine the contrary inter- "ests of capitalists and *prolétaires*, because prop- "erty is the fundamental basis of all political asso-

"ciation. It was necessary also to introduce "non-proprietors, in order to keep open a career "to talent and to genius."

The Council of State was one of the most important wheels of the machinery of the Empire. Composed of the most distinguished men, it formed the privy council of the sovereign. Its members, free from all constraint, not intent upon producing an effect, and stimulated by the presence of the sovereign, wrought out the laws without any other preoccupation than the interests of France. The orators of the Council of State were required to present for the acceptance of the chambers the laws which it had prepared.

The Emperor created auditors of the Council of State; their number was carried up to three hundred and fifty; they were divided into three classes, and attached to all branches of administration. The Council of State formed thus a nursery of instructed and enlightened men, capable of carrying on advantageously the administration of the country. Familiar with all great political questions, they received from the government important missions.

This institution supplied a great want; for, when a country has schools of jurisprudence, of medicine, of war, of theology, etc., is it not contrary to reason that it should not have one for the art of governing, which is the most difficult of all

arts, for it embraces all the sciences, exact, political, and moral?[1]

"I prepared for my son," said the Emperor at Saint Helena, "a most advantageous position. I "educated for him a new school, the numerous "class of auditors of the Council of State. Their "education finished, and having come of age, they "would, some day, have filled all the important "posts of the Empire; strong in our principles, "and in the examples of our predecessors, they "would have been, all of them, from twelve to "fifteen years older than my son; which would "have placed him precisely between two gener-"ations most advantageously—maturity, experi-"ence, and wisdom above, youth and activity be-"low."

The council of disputed claims was instituted as a special tribunal, to sit in trial upon cases concerning public functionaries, and to decide appeals from the councils of the prefectures, upon cases relating

[1] In default of an efficient tribune, which the constitutional government would have given to France, never had a sovereign so enlightened a council, or one in which all questions concerning administrative and civil order were discussed with more freedom and independence. In the absence of that tribune which would have expressed public opinion, never did a sovereign better divine the true state of opinion, never did any other analyze better its character or know better how to profit often by its correctness, sometimes also by its errors. (Thibaudeau.)

to the furnishing of subsistence, to certain violations of the laws of the state, etc.

The desire of the Emperor to raise to high consideration the political bodies, is manifested by the creation of the dignity of grand elector; by the honors with which he surrounded the president of the legislative body;[1] by the detailed *exposés* of the state of the Empire which he caused to be laid before the legislative body; by the importance which he imparted to the opening of the sessions. Regarding himself as the first representative of the nation, he considered himself bound to give an account of his acts before the constituted bodies. Hence the opening of the session of the legislative body was never, under his reign, a vain ceremony; he did not come to seat himself upon a throne, with all the externals of a royalty of the sixteenth century, in order to repeat stupidly the words of his ministers, but, standing before the legislative body, he communicated frankly his ideas. It was not weakness concealing itself under the guise of power; it was power of its own accord rendering homage to the constituted bodies of the state.

Instead of influencing the elections, Napoleon often recommended to those around him not to offer themselves as candidates for the senate; he told them that they could arrive at that dignity by

[1] The president of the legislative body had a guard of honor.

another road—that it was necessary to leave to the notables of the provinces the satisfaction of choosing for themselves.

The principles which guided the Emperor in the choice of public functionaries were much more reasonable than those in use at the present day. When he named the chief of an administration, he did not consult the political shade of color of the man, but his capacity as a functionary. Thus, instead of inquiring into the political antecedents of his ministers, he only required of them the special knowledge needed. Chaptal, a celebrated chemist, was charged with the duty of opening new paths for manufacturing industry; the learned Denon was appointed director of the museum of arts; Mollien, minister of the treasury. If the finances of the Empire were so prosperous, it was in a great measure owing to the fact that Gaudin, Duke of Gaëta, entered the ministry of finances under the Consulate, and continued in the office until 1814.

In order that the road might be open for all improvements, the court of cassation was charged with the duty of doing for the laws what the Institute did for the sciences. The court was required to present every year a *compte rendu* of the improvements of which the different branches of legislation were susceptible, and make known the faults and defects which experience had demonstrated.

One should also observe that, in the institutions of the Empire, there was a continual movement, acting from the circumference towards the centre, and from the centre reacting towards the circumference, like the circulation of the blood which, in the human body, flows towards the heart, and from the heart reflows towards the extremities. On the one hand, the people participate by election in all political offices; on the other hand, the bodies politic are presided over by men appointed by the central power. The great dignitaries of the Empire presided over the electoral colleges of the largest cities; the other great civil officers, or the members of the Legion of Honor, presided over the other colleges.[1]

The Councillors of State, on extraordinary service, were sent into the departments to watch over the administration. They transmitted the plans of the government, and received the complaints and the expressions of the wishes of the people. The senators who enjoyed the revenues of senatorial estates were required to reside three months every year in their arrondissements, in order to take to them the opinion of the centre, and bring back to Paris the opinion of the arrondissement.

The creation of the Legion of Honor, which

[1] Each electoral college terminated its session by voting an address to the Emperor, which was presented to him by a deputation.

divided the French territory into sixteen arrondissements, with the designation of *chef-lieu*, was, according to the expression of the reporter of the law, a political institution which placed in society intermediaries through whom the acts of the executive could be delivered to public opinion with fidelity and benignity, and through whom also public opinion could react upon the executive.

The great benefits which were experienced from the introduction of the Code Napoleon are well known; it had put many branches of legislation in harmony with the principles of the Revolution, and had much diminished litigation by bringing a multitude of cases within the comprehension of every one. But this code did not respond fully to the wishes of the Emperor: he projected a universal or complete code, so that there might be no other laws than those inscribed in this code, and that all which was not comprised therein might be pronounced, once for all, null and void: "for," added he, "in virtue of some old edicts of Chilpe-"ric or Pharamond, dug up for the occasion, no "one can say that he is safe from being duly and "legally hanged."

To sum up the imperial system, it may be said, that its basis is democratic, since all the powers are derived from the people; whilst the organisation is hierarchical, since it provides different grades in order to stimulate all capacities.

Competition is opened to 40,000,000 of souls; merit alone distinguishes them; different degrees of the social scale reward them.

Thus, politically, we have assemblies of the canton, electoral colleges, the legislative body, the council of state, the senate, the great dignitaries.

For the army; every citizen is a soldier, every soldier may become officer, colonel, general, or marshal.

For the Legion of Honor; all classes of merit have the same right—all services whether civil, military, industrial, ecclesiastical, or scientific; and all may obtain the grades of legionary, officer, commandant, grand officer, or grand eagle.

Public instruction has its primary schools, its secondary schools, its lyceums, and the Institute as the head of the edifice.

Justice has its tribunals of first instance, its imperial courts, and the court of cassation.

Finally, the administration of government has its mayors, adjoint-mayors, sub-prefects, prefects, ministers, and councillors of state.

Napoleon was then a centre around which all the national forces grouped themselves. He had divided France for purposes of administration into communal arrondissements and prefectures; politically into electoral colleges and senatorial estates; defensively, into military divisions; judicially, into districts of the imperial court; religiously, into

bishoprics; philosophically, into lyceum districts; and morally, into arrondissements of the Legion of Honor.

The body politic, like the corps of instruction, and like the administrative body, had its feet in the communes, and its head in the senate.

The government of the Emperor was then, to use a comparison, a colossal pyramid with a broad foundation and an elevated apex.

If one, after having surveyed the period from 1800 to 1814, turns his eyes to the present epoch, he will see that the greater part of the institutions founded by the Emperor still exist, and that they by their sole virtue have maintained the administration. Although deprived of innate moving power, France obeys, now for 24 years, the impulse which Napoleon gave her. But one must not judge of the Empire by the false imitations which we have seen; people have copied things, as if they had never understood the spirit which presided at their creation. We are indebted to two causes for all the prodigies which, in spite of wars, we have seen produced under the Empire; one of them the genius of the man,—the other the system which he established. Under the Empire all the intelligence, and all the capacity of France were called upon to co-operate with one single aim, in promoting the prosperity of the country. Since that time all the leading minds have been occupied only

in contending among themselves, and in discussing which road to follow, instead of making advances. Political discipline has been broken up, and instead of marching towards one object in close column, each one has suddenly adopted a line of march of his own, and separated himself from the body of the army.

It has been said that the Emperor was a despot. It is true that his power was equal to the work of creation before him, and in proportion with the confidence of the people. "Under Napoleon," said General Foy, who certainly cannot be accused of partiality, "neither the vexations of subaltern "pretension, nor the intolerance of castes, nor the "insufferable domination of parties was known. "The law was strong, often rigid, but it was equal "for all." Napoleon was a despot, it is said; yet he never dismissed any one from public office, without an inquiry, and report of facts, and rarely ever without hearing the accused functionary: never when the questions involved were civil or administrative. Napoleon never took action upon questions of policy without a previous discussion.[1] Never before did a sovereign take counsel so fully and carefully as the Emperor, for he sought only one thing—the truth. Could he have been a systematic despot, who, by his codes and his organisation tended always to replace the arbitrary by law? We see him in 1810 prevent the appropria-

[1] Bignon, vol. v. p. 168.

tion of private property to public uses without previous hearing and judgment;[1] and establish the council of disputed claims, in order to regulate the exercise of that portion of arbitrary power which was absolutely necessary for the administration of the state. "I desire that the state shall be gov- "erned by law, and that whatever must necessarily "be done without law shall be legalized by the in- "tervention of a constituted body."

We see him also, in 1810, show his discontent that a law concerning the press had not been prepared,[2] and, what is particularly worthy of notice, he repeated often these memorable words: "I do "not wish that this power should descend to my "successors, because they might abuse it."

When one reads history, he is astonished at the severity of the judgments pronounced by French-

[1] "I wish the fact of public utility to be verified by a "*senatus consultum*, a law or a decree deliberated upon in the "Council of State; and then the disputes or claims which arise "settled by the tribunals. I declare that I cannot reconcile "myself to seeing the arbitrary insinuate itself everywhere, and "so great a state administered and governed, without oppor- "tunity of complaint." Words of the Emperor before the Council of State.

[2] "The press, which it is pretended is free, is really in a "state of absolute slavery; the police allows works to be pub- "lished or suppressed arbitrarily, and the minister of police does "not exercise his own judgment; he is obliged to refer his "decisions to his own bureaux. Nothing can be more irreg- "ular, more arbitrary, than this regime." Words of the Emperor before the Council of State.

men upon their own government, and their indulgence towards foreign governments. Here is, for example, the judgment which Carrel rendered upon the administration of Cromwell; and certainly the English Protector ranks far below the French hero: "It was fortunate for England that such a "man (Cromwell) took upon himself the responsi- "bility of performing unavoidable acts of violence, "because order in the place of anarchy was to "come from usurpation, and order was necessary. "Everywhere, and in all times, necessities have "dictated the agreements or compacts called prin- "ciples, and principles are always silent in the "presence of necessities. There was necessity for "security, for repose, for a grandeur which should "impose upon the foreign enemies of the Revolu- "tion, and overshadow commercial interests hos- "tile to the interests of England. There was ne- "cessity for an administration which comprehend- "ed all parties and committed itself to none; which "thoroughly understood all the ideas of the epoch, "without making exclusive profession of any of "them; which made use of the army without fol- "lowing its lead. Cromwell was right against the "royalists, because they were enemies of the coun- "try; against the Presbyterians, because they were "intolerant, and did not understand the revolu- "tion; against the levellers, because they demand-

"ed the impossible; finally, against the fanatical "republicans, because they did not comprehend "public opinion."[1]

Are not these words a faithful explanation of the reign of the Emperor? Nevertheless, one hears some French voices prefer unjust accusations, repeating, for example, that the government of Napoleon was the government of the sword! If that opinion could have become general, there would have been occasion to exclaim, with Montesquieu: "Woe to the reputation of the prince "who is oppressed by a party which becomes dom-"inant, or who has endeavored to destroy a preju-"dice which survives him!"

Never, in fact, was the internal administration of power less military in its character than that of the Emperor. In all his acts we recognize the tendency to give civil order pre-eminence over military order. Under the imperial regime, no post of civil administration was held by military men. He who created civil dignities to balance the dignities of the army; who, by the institution of the Legion of Honor, wished to reward in the same manner the services of the citizen and those of the soldier; who, from the instant of his accession to power, occupied himself with the lot of

[1] History of the Counter-Revolution in England, Introduction, page 60.

the civil employés of government;[1] who gave always precedence to civil officers; who, in the interior, and even in conquered countries, sent as envoys councillors of state clothed with an administrative authority superior to that of the generals,—such is the man whom party spirit has wished to represent as the partisan of a military regime![2]

It has been made a subject of complaint that the uniform of military discipline was introduced

[1] When Napoleon arrived at power, the military pensions were already regulated by law; but there was no legal provision for granting civil pensions. As there was no provision for the retirement of the functionaries, they abused their places. The Directory, not being empowered to grant pensions, granted an interest in public transactions, an immoral state of things. Thibaudeau, vol. iii. p. 179.

[2] M. Thibaudeau, in his History of the Consulate, reporting what the Emperor said to the Council of State, namely, that no man was more a civilian than himself, adds: "If the military were invested with importance and consideration, their "authority was rigorously confined to their natural sphere; its "slightest encroachments were immediately rigidly repressed. "The First Consul supported the courts and the prefects "against the generals. Citizens were subjected only to civil "authority; to say the contrary, is to contradict evidence." Vol. ii. p. 213.

A general, loaded with testimonials of the favor of the sovereign, had no power to arrest an obscure criminal. In the conflicts, sufficiently numerous, between the military and the civil authority, the decision was almost always in favor of the latter. Ibid. vol. i. p. 82.

In 1806, Junot, governor of Paris, was accused of breaking the game-law. He set at defiance the authority of the courts. He was obliged to settle the matter to avoid an execution. Ibid. vol. v. p. 318.

into the lyceums. But is it wrong to diffuse in the nation a military spirit—that spirit which awakens the most noble passions, honor, disinterestedness, patriotism, and which creates habits of order, regularity, and submission to authority? The military spirit is dangerous only when it is the exclusive property of a caste.[1]

As to the military uniform, the Emperor caused it to be adopted in the lyceums, and the special schools, with a view to equality. One day when he visited the *prytanée* of Saint Cyr, his feelings were shocked at the difference which existed in the clothes of the pupils; some wearing a fashionable costume, while others were ragged. The emperor declared that he would have no distinction of dress among the pupils; that equality

[1] With the exception of the manual exercise of arms, and the exercise of platoon-manœuvring, in which regard was had to the strength of the pupils, there was in their studies, their repasts, their recreations, only the difference of the substitution of the drum for the bell. Choosing between these two instruments, we give the preference to the drum. The bell suggests ideas of humility and abnegation; the drum, ideas of glory and honor. Under the *régime* of the bell pupils were flogged; corporal punishments were forbidden under that of the drum. The members of the lyceums observed a discipline and had a careful dress and a masculine attitude which the pupils of the greater part of the colleges never had. They were imbued, it is said, with a taste for arms: but were not all the youth of the country subject to the law of conscription? Thibaudeau.

ought to be the first element of education; and he caused to be given to all the same uniform.

Finally, it was a strange sort of military government, one in which the tranquillity of a vast empire was maintained without a soldier, while the Emperor and the army were eight hundred leagues from the capital![1] And, further, the imperial eagles, which so many laurels had illustrated, were never defiled by French blood shed by French soldiers. Few governments can say as much of their flag!

The praise of the Emperor is in his deeds. It is sufficient to turn over the pages of the *Moniteur*. His glory is like the sun: he is blind who does not see it. Obscure detractors cannot countervail open acts; a few drops of ink cannot alter the color of the sea. Nevertheless, as there are vulgar minds which cannot comprehend that which is great, and as in epochs of transition party spirit disfigures great historical features, it may not be amiss to remind the masses, who feel such admiration for

[1] No troops were necessary even in the countries which had been annexed. Piedmont, Tuscany, Genoa, had not fifteen hundred soldiers present. When the Emperor was at Vienna there were only twelve hundred men in the garrison of Paris. The Emperor drove in the midst of the crowd which covered the place of the Carrousel; and in the park of St. Cloud in an open carriage with four horses, at a walk, with the Empress and a single page, in the midst of 150,000 spectators who surrounded his carriage. Persons now living saw him. Thibaudeau, vol. 8, p. 176.

the Emperor, that their veneration is not based upon the deceitful show of a vain glory, but upon the just appreciation of actions, which had for their object the happiness of humanity.

And if, in the celestial region where his great soul now reposes in peace, Napoleon could still be troubled by the agitations and the opinions which are in conflict here below, might not his indignant shade thus answer his accusers? "All that I "have done for the prosperity of France, I have "had to accomplish in the intervals of battles. "But you, who accuse me, what have you done "during twenty-four years of profound peace?"

Have you reconciled discords, and united the parties around the altar of the country? Have you distributed among the different powers of the state the moral weight which the law concedes, and which is a pledge of stability?

Have you given to your chamber of peers the democratic organisation of my Senate?

Have you preserved to the Council of State its salutary influence and beneficent functions?

Have you preserved in the Legion of Honor the purity and prestige of its first organisation?

Have you given to your electoral system the democratic foundation of my cantonal assemblies?

Have you facilitated the access of all to the representative chamber, by assuring compensation to its members?

Have you rewarded all merits, repressed corruption, and introduced into the administration that severe and pure morality which renders authority worthy of respect?

Have you caused the influence of power to be exerted for the improvement of manners? Instead of diminishing, have not crimes increased in frequency?

Have you secured property, by completing the operation of the book of assessments?

Have you caused a thousand new industries to spring from the soil?

Have you, during a long peace, finished half the works that I commenced during severe wars?

Have you opened new markets for commerce?

Have you improved the condition of the poorer classes?

Have you employed all the revennes of France with a single view to her prosperity?

Have you re-established the law of divorce, which protected the morality of families?

Have you organized the national guard in such a manner that it will be an impregnable barrier against invasion?

Have you confined the clergy to its religious functions, far removed from political power?

Have you preserved to the army that respect and popularity which it had so justly acquired?

Have you not endeavored to degrade the noble mission of the soldier?

Have you granted to our living relics of Waterloo the morsel of bread which belonged to them as the price of the blood which they poured out for France?

The tri-color flag, and the name of Frenchman, have they preserved that prestige and influence which caused them to be respected throughout the world?

Have you secured to France allies upon whom she can count in time of danger?

Have you diminished the burdens of the people? Your taxes of peace, are they not higher than my taxes of war?

Finally, have you not weakened that administrative centralisation, which I established, in order to organize the interior, and resist the foreign enemies of France?

No; you have preserved of my reign only that which was intended to be temporary and transient; and you have rejected all the advantages which palliated defects!

The benefits of peace you have not obtained; and all the inconveniences of war you have suffered, and still suffer, without its great compensations, honor and the glory of the country!

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOREIGN QUESTION.

Napoleonic foreign policy.—The different projects of the Emperor.—Benefits conferred upon nations.—Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Westphalia, Poland.—His views concerning Spain.

THERE are three ways of regarding the relations of France with foreign governments. They may be reduced to the three following systems:

There is a blind and passionate policy, which would throw down the glove to Europe, and dethrone all the kings.

There is another policy precisely opposite, which consists in maintaining peace, and purchasing the friendship of sovereigns, at the expense of the honor and of the interests of the country.

Finally, there is a third policy, which frankly offers the alliance of France to all governments which are willing to co-operate with her in common interests.

Pursuing the first, there can be neither peace nor truce; pursuing the second, there is no war,

but also no independence; pursuing the third, there is no dishonorable peace, and no universal war.

The third system is the Napoleonic foreign policy; it is that which the Emperor put in practice during the whole of his career. If Napoleon fell notwithstanding, he fell in virtue of causes which we shall explain by and by; but that which is certain is that without this policy he never could have successfully repelled the attacks of Europe. "Rome," says Montesquieu, "became great, be-"cause her wars with other nations were succes-"sive; each nation, by an inconceivable good for-"tune attacking her, only after another had been "vanquished."

That which chance and fortune did for the aggrandisement of Rome, Napoleon procured for France by his policy.

From 1796, when, with 30,000 men he made the conquest of Italy, he was not only a great general, but a profound political statesman. The Directory, in its ignorance, sent to General Bonaparte an order to dethrone the King of Sardinia, and to march upon Rome, leaving 80,000 Austrians, who issued from the Tyrol, in his rear. Napoleon disregarded instructions so ill-advised. He formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Piedmont, made a treaty with the Pope, and beat the Austrians. The fruit of this policy and con-

duct was the peace of Campo-Formio. Finally, after a few years, Napoleon, who shortly before was chief of a state which was at war with all Europe, united under the tri-colored flag, to march upon Moscow, Prussians, Hanoverians, Dutch, Saxons, Westphalians, Poles, Austrians, Wirtemburgers, Bavarians, Swiss, Lombards, Tuscans, Neapolitans, and others.

By this combination of all these nations, united under his orders, one may form a judgment concerning the skill of the policy of the Emperor. If he did not succeed at Moscow, it was not because his combinations were ill concerted; it was because fate and the elements conspired against him. The risks, in so great an enterprise, are in proportion to the results expected.

After Napoleon arrived at power, it was evidently necessary that he should have a general object in view, but his views were constantly modified, extended, or contracted, according to the march of events. "I was not guilty of the folly," said he, "of desiring to bend events to suit my "system; but, on the contrary, I bent my system "so as to adapt it to events."

To secure the independence of France, to establish a solid European peace, such was the object he had in view, and which he was so near attaining, in spite of the complications of events, and the unceasing conflict of opposite interests.

The more the secrets of diplomacy shall be revealed, the more will the world be convinced of this truth, that Napoleon was led step by step—through the force of events and things—to that gigantic power which was created by war, and by war destroyed. He was not the aggressor; on the contrary, he was constantly obliged to repel the coalitions of Europe. If sometimes he appeared to get the start of his enemies, it was because the guaranty of success in war consists in taking the initiative. "And besides," as Mignet has said, "the true author of a war is not he who "declares it, but he who renders it necessary."

Let us pass in rapid review the great drama which commenced at Arcole and ended at Waterloo, and we shall see that Napoleon appears as one of those extraordinary beings whom Providence creates to be the majestic instrument of His impenetrable designs, and whose mission is so clearly defined in advance, that an irresistible power seems to compel them to fulfil it.

After having made the conquest of Italy, and carried the torch of civilisation to the foot of the Pyramids—the place which was its cradle—he returned to Europe, and by the battle of Marengo obtained peace, of which France stood in great need. But this peace was of too short duration; England wished war. It seems as though the two most civilized nations were employed by Provi-

dence to enlighten the world, one in exciting nations against France, the other in conquering in order to regenerate them. At one moment the two giants stood face to face; there was but a narrow strait between them. They appeared about to struggle for the mastery, body to body; but such was not the decree of fate. The genius of civilisation of the age was destined to march towards the East. People of Illyria and of Carinthia, of the Danube and of the Spree, of the Elbe and of the Vistula, you saw her and followed her laws; victorious, she received your worship; you then hated her, but, after her disappearance, only to regret and bless her!

Every coalition which was formed increased the preponderance of France, for the God of battles was with us; and the power of Napoleon grew in proportion with the hatred of his enemies. Our allies derived advantage from our conquests. In 1805, France had for allies Prussia, the little states of Germany, Italy, and Spain. The victories of Ulm and Austerlitz gave Hanover to Prussia, Venice to Italy, the Tyrol to Bavaria. Prussia detached herself from the French alliance, and Napoleon was compelled to subdue her at Jena.[1]

[1] It will be asked one day why Napoleon, in the six last years of his reign, showed himself without pity for Prussia; it was because Prussia was the power which injured him most by compelling him to contend with and destroy her; her, whom

The creation of the kingdom of Westphalia was a consequence of the dismemberment of Prussia, and of the victories of Eylau and Friedland. A glimpse of a future of peace was caught at Tilsit. The two most powerful monarchs of the world, representing 80,000,000 of men, and the civilisation of the East and the West, met upon a river which separated interests of the greatest magnitude. The interview between Alexander and Napoleon upon the Niémen, was, then, for Europe, like the union of the two voltaic poles, which, from the difference of their nature, produce, when they meet, the electric light. How was it possible not to believe in a brilliant future of prosperity, when these two great monarchs agreed upon assuring the repose of the world? Napoleon, in 1808, found himself at Erfurth, in the midst of a congress of kings, who had been conquered or convinced; but England was neither conquered nor convinced; her fleets hovered upon every shore, and her gold weighed heavy in the scales of treaties. 1809 saw a new coalition; it was dissolved at Eckmuhl and Wagram. The French eagle soared over Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburg. Bavaria obtained the province of Salzbourg. Illyria became a portion of the great empire.

he desired to enlarge, fortify and aggrandize, in order to secure by her co-operation the immobility of Russia and Austria, to give to the continental system an uncontested development, and thus force England to make and keep peace. Bignon.

The views of Napoleon were extended as the field of his exploits was enlarged; events put him in a position, which enabled him to contemplate the regeneration of Europe. The great difficulty for Napoleon was, not to conquer, but to dispose of his conquests. As sovereign of France he was bound to make use of them in a French interest; as a great man, in a European interest. That is to say, it was necessary that his conquests should satisfy the temporary interests of war, at the same time that they should furnish the means of establishing a system of general peace. The provinces which he incorporated with France were only so many media of exchange, so many counters,[1] which he held in reserve until a definitive settlement of peace. But inasmuch as such incorporations gave rise to suspicions of a desire to establish a universal monarchy, he founded kingdoms, which had an appearance of independence, and elevated his brothers to thrones, in order that they might form in the different countries the pillars of a new edifice, and unite the appearance of permanency with the substantial power of change. They alone, although kings, would be subject to his will, and would decide according to the decrees of his

[1] "Illyria was but an advanced sentinel at the gates of "Vienna; I will, by-and-by, restore it for Gallicia." Words of Napoleon. He said to a deputation from Berlin in 1807: "I have not desired war; I am satisfied with the boundary of "the Rhine."

policy, to quit their thrones and become again French princes; they united the apparent independence of royalty with a real dependence of family. Thus the Emperor was seen to change, according to circumstances, the governments of Holland, of Naples, of Lombardy, of Spain, and of the grand-duchy of Berg.

It was a fatality for Napoleon, to be obliged to create so many new kingdoms: they therefore are in error, who have said that he ought, in view of his own interests, to have dethroned the sovereigns of Prussia and of Austria, when he occupied their capitals. The Emperor by so doing would only have increased his embarrassments and the number of his enemies, for those sovereigns were beloved by their subjects—and, besides, whom could he put in their places? Men beyond the Rhine do not like governments imposed by us, any better than we like those which enemies impose upon us. Remember that in 1808 Napoleon thought it necessary to change the dynasty of a great nation. That dynasty had so degenerated, that it approved of its own removal. The country, whose lot she placed in the hands of the Emperor, was that for the regeneration of which French influence was the most necessary; nevertheless, all Spain rose to reclaim the monarch whom a foreign power had taken away.

The Emperor conciliated, then, as far as was

possible, temporary interests, and transient exigencies with his great object, a resettlement of Europe upon the basis of the interests of all. But fate seemed always to force him into new wars; and, as if it was not enough that he had liberated from the trammels of past ages Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, it was necessary that he should conduct his armies under the burning sky of Andalusia, and through the snows of Russia, and that his legions, like those of Cæsar, should even in dying leave as traces of their passage the germs of a new civilisation. In 1812, the contest became more terrible. In order that general peace might be established and consolidated, it was necessary that England in the west, and Russia in the east, should be persuaded by reason, or subdued by victory. The great designs of the Emperor were about to be accomplished; the West of Europe marched upon Moscow. But alas! a winter changed all! Napoleonic Europe could no longer exist. From the grandeur of the failure, form an idea of the gigantic result of success! It was no longer a question of combining and founding; it was necessary for the Emperor to defend and protect France and her allies. The field of battle was transferred from the banks of the Bérésina to the foot of Montmartre. Peace! peace! cried the cowards, who until then had been silent. But the soul of the Emperor was inaccessible to pusillanimous

counsels. Although his body bled in every part, Death, he exclaims, rather than a shameful peace! death, rather than be Emperor of a France smaller than I received!

The lightning flashed once more!—but soon came Waterloo! Here every French voice is choked, and finds no longer any thing but—tears; tears for the vanquished, and tears for the victors, who will sooner or later regret the overthrow of the only man who could mediate between two hostile ages!

All our wars were attributable to England. She never would listen to any propositions of peace. Did she believe that the Emperor desired her ruin? He never entertained such a thought. He did but make reprisals. The Emperor esteemed the English people, and to secure peace would have made every sacrifice—except such as would compromise his honor. In 1800, the first Consul wrote to the King of England: "Shall the war, which for eight "years has ravaged the four quarters of the earth, "be eternal? Is there no way of coming to an "understanding? How can the two most en- "lightened nations of Europe, each more power- "ful than is necessary for its safety and independ- "ence, sacrifice to ideas of vain-glory, the welfare "of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happi- "ness of families? How is it, that they do not

"feel that peace is the first of necessities, as it is "the first of glories?"

In 1805, the Emperor addressed to the same sovereign the following words: "The world is "large enough for two nations to live in, and rea- "son is abundantly able to find the ways of con- "ciliating every thing, if only there is on both "sides the will. Peace is the wish of my heart, "but war has never been contrary to my glory. "I conjure your Majesty not to deny himself the "happiness of voluntarily granting peace."

In 1808, Napoleon united with Alexander to bring over the British Cabinet to ideas of conciliation.

Finally, in 1812, when the Emperor was at the apogee of his power, he made again the same propositions to England. He always sued for peace after a victory, never after a defeat. "A "nation," said he, "can replace men more easily "than honor."

It would be too sad an idea to think that war had been kept up only through the revengeful passions, or the interests of parties. If an obstinate contest continued for so long a time, it was doubtless because the two nations understood each other too little, and each government erred as to the real condition of its neighbor. England saw, perhaps, in Napoleon only a despot, who oppresses his country, and exhausts all her resources to

gratify his warlike ambition; she could not recognize that the Emperor was the elect of the people, of whom he represented all the interests, material and moral, for which France had contended since 1789. It may also be held that the French government, confounding the enlightened aristocracy of England with the feudal aristocracy which weighed upon France before the Revolution, thought that it was dealing with an oppressive government. But the English aristocracy is like the Briareus of fable. It has a hold upon the people by a hundred thousand roots. It obtained from them as many sacrifices as Napoleon obtained efforts from the French nation. And it is worthy of notice in the contest between these two countries, that the rivalry of England placed Napoleon at one time in a position to realize against that power a European project, similar to that which Henry IV. would have put in execution against Spain, if the steel of a base assassin had not deprived France and Europe of that great monarch.

We shall return, in another chapter, to a consideration of the morality of the end which the Emperor designed to attain. Let us examine now the principal improvements which he introduced into foreign countries. Very differently from other governments, which have always treated the provinces they have acquired like conquered countries, the Emperor caused all the nations of which he

was master to participate in the benefits of an enlightened administration; and the countries which he incorporated with France, enjoyed from that instant the same prerogatives as the mother country. When he gave crowns, he imposed always two conditions upon the king whom he appointed; the inviolability of the constitution, and the guaranty of the public debt.

In Italy, he formed a great kingdom, which had its separate administration and its Italian army. All the administrative and judicial offices were filled by natives. The troops were no longer composed of mercenaries and the dregs of the population. Every man was called upon to defend his country: the army became citizen. The sovereign could no longer dip, according to his caprice, into the public treasury; he had his civil list. Feudalism, tithes, mortmains, and monastic orders were destroyed; a constitutional statute established three colleges: 1st, proprietors; 2d, those engaged in commerce; 3d, the learned. There were added to the first two colleges which required for admissibility the qualification of the payment of a certain amount of imposts, a third college, free from that requisition, composed, under the name of College of Savants, of two hundred citizens chosen from among the most celebrated men of all branches of science, or of the liberal or mechanic arts, or from among those who had most

distinguished themselves whether by their doctrines in ecclesiastical matters, or by their acquisitions in legislation, morals, politics, or administration.

The citizens were organized into a national guard. The country, divided into departments, and administered by prefectures and sub-prefectures, lost that provincial spirit which is the death of nationality. New laws concerning property and mortgages simplified administration and enriched the country. Agriculture, the sciences, and the arts, were encouraged. The French Code was introduced, and publicity of proceedings in criminal matters was declared. Houses of industry were erected in several cities to put an end to mendicity. Convents were converted into hospitals, justices of the peace were appointed, and the decimal system of money, weights, and measures was established. Public instruction was regulated by a law which divides it, economically, into three degrees—national, departmental, and communal; and scientifically likewise into three degrees—transcendental, intermediate, and elementary. Above all stood the National Institute. The Italian concordat protected the temporal power from encroachments of the ecclesiastical power. The various bonds of the people of Italy were drawn closer by more easy means of communication. The Alps were levelled, and the Apennines, cut by new routes, united Piedmont

to the Mediterranean. Italian glory awoke, and for the first time since Cæsar, Italian legions were seen to tread as conquerors the soil of Spain. The name of *Italy*, so beautiful, dead for so many ages, was restored to provinces which, until then, had been severed. That name implies in itself a future of independence.[1]

Napoleon put an end to those little republics, which, as Montesquieu has said, owed their existence only to the perpetuity of their abuses. From the Alps to Otranto there were but three great divisions: the kingdom of Italy, the kingdom of Naples, and the French provinces. Napoleon had united to the French empire Piedmont, as well as Rome and Florence, for the purpose of habituating their people to a government which makes the inhabitants citizens and soldiers. The wars at an end, he would have restored them to the mother country; and these provinces, invigorated by his authority, would have passed by an easy transition from French dominion to an Italian government; while, if this organisation had been more hasty, the people, not having been prepared by French action for a common nationality, would doubtless

[1] In receiving the Italian deputation which brought him the crown of Italy, Napoleon replied in public to M. Melzi: "I have "always intended to create the Italian nation *free and inde-* "*pendent.* I accept the crown, and will keep it—but only so "long as my interests render it necessary." See Botta, book 22, p. 5.

have regretted their ancient political individuality.

Switzerland, given up to civil war, to the terrors of anarchy, and at the same time to the encroachments of the aristocracy, was all at once pacified by the mediation of Napoleon. He called before him the representatives of Helvetia, opposed the opinion of those who desired liberty for certain cantons only, and dependence for the rest; and having fully discussed the interests of each, he made them adopt a constitution which, while it consecrated the principles of liberty and justice, preserved of the preceding regime all which was not incompatible with those principles. The chief articles of the act of mediation were: 1st, Equality of rights among the nineteen cantons; 2d, The voluntary surrender of privileges on the part of patrician families; 3d, A federal organisation, in virtue of which each canton was organized according to its language, its religion, its customs, its interests, and its opinions. Accordingly Switzerland, which is indebted to the act of mediation for twelve years of quiet and prosperity, has always preserved its gratitude to the mediator.

Southern Germany, liberated from the yoke of the Germanic empire, beheld civilisation advancing under the auspices of the Code Napoleon, and instead of being cut up into two hundred and eighty-four states, she saw their number reduced to thirty-

one by the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine.[1]

[1] Seigniories and sovereignties of ancient Germany having a voice in the Diet, and rights of legislation and jurisdiction in their territories:

Electors,		9
Lay Princes,		61
Ecclesiastical Princes,		33
Abbots and Abbeys with seigneurial rights,		41
Counts and Seigniors of the Empire,—		
In Wetteravia,		16
In Swabia,		23
In Franconia,		17
In Westphalia,		33
	Sovereigns,	233
	Republics,	51
	Total,	284 States.

The decree of Ratisbonne (1803), the first act of the Germanic empire, drawn up under the influence of Napoleon, reduced these States to the number of 147:

Electors,	10
Seigniors having a voice in the Diet,	131
Free Cities,	6
	147

By the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon mediatized all these princes; there remained only 31 States:

Kings,	4
Elector Arch-chancellor,	1
Grand Dukes,	3
Landgrave,	1
Princes,	11
Dukes,	10
Count,	1
Total,	31 States.

Westphalia, another germ of regeneration, seated upon the Elbe, composed of provinces which suffered all the abuses of feudalism, received institutions which consecrated the equality of all citizens before the law, and suppressed every industrial privilege and every kind of serfdom. The introduction of the civil code, and the publicity of trials by jury in criminal matters, were ameliorations for which the French *régime* must be credited. The fiefs were declared free properties, providing, however, for reversion to the crown in case of default of heirs. Prospective arrangements were made to prevent the suits which might arise in consequence of the abolition of serfdom. The purchase of rents and of feudal reservations was regulated by a law. All religions enjoyed equal liberty; the Jewish worship had its consistory.

In Bavaria, the King Maximilian granted in 1808 a constitution which secured the liberties of the people, and destroyed feudal privileges.

In the grand-duchies of Baden and of Berg, as in the lands of Erfurth, Fulde, Hanau and Bayreuth, the influence of the Emperor caused to be abolished, in 1808, serfdom, the cultivators' tax, and the fees derived therefrom to the profit of the seigniors. The serfs and cultivators obtained complete civil rights, and the right of holding property.

Liberty of conscience did not exist in Saxony:

the Emperor caused it to be declared in the constitution of that country in 1806.

Poland, that sister of France always so devoted, so magnanimous, may hope for a resurrection not long to be delayed, for the Emperor erected the duchy of Warsaw as a nucleus for a complete nationality. The constitution of this new duchy abolished slavery, consecrated the principle of equality of rights, and placed under the safeguard of the tribunals the social state of all persons. It introduced the French civil code. The King of Saxony was elected as sovereign of Warsaw, because he was a descendant of princes who had reigned over Poland. He had near him, in his character of grand-duke of Warsaw, a council of state, composed of the most distinguished Poles. A constitutional statute was decreed, which assured the privileges and liberties of the people. The general diet was composed of two chambers, that of the senate and that of the nuncios. The diet voted the taxes and discussed the laws. Finally, as has been said by M. Bignon, in a work of which the patriotism rivals the talent, a tribune was erected at Warsaw in the midst of the silent atmospheres of neighboring governments.

Although the Emperor had it in his power to dispose arbitrarily of the destiny of so many nations, he allowed them always to co-operate in framing the laws which he gave them. His con-

duct was the same in regard to all the countries, the old governments of which he changed. In 1800, he invited the deputies of northern Italy to come to Lyons, and discussed with them the constitution which should govern them.[1]

In 1805, another extraordinary council was called together at Paris to constitute the kingdom of Italy. In Holland, the legislative body of the country was charged with the duty of framing the constitution. For Switzerland, the act of mediation was in like manner the work of the deputies of the cantons assembled at Paris.

The system of the Emperor, which consisted in calling near him the most distinguished persons of a country, in order to work out its regeneration, having procured so happy results for Switzerland and Italy, Napoleon resolved, in 1808, to apply it to Spain, which, more than any other nation, needed a political reorganisation.

The Emperor did not go to Bayonne with the intention of dethroning the kings of Spain; but when he saw Charles IV. and Ferdinand at his feet, and could judge for himself of their complete incapacity, he pitied the lot of a great people, and,

[1] This extraordinary council comprised all the notabilities of the republic, the clergy, the magistracy, the administrations of the departments and of the principal cities, the chambers of commerce, the academies and the universities, the national guards, and the troops of the line. All classes and all professions sent their representatives.

as he said himself, he seized by the forelock the opportunity which fortune presented him of reconstituting Spain, and of uniting her intimately with his system. He assembled at Bayonne an extraordinary national junta, composed of deputies elected by all the provinces. A plan of constitution was opened to the free discussion of the junta; this plan provided for a senate, a council of state, the cortes or assemblies of the nation divided into three bans; he adopted the judicial system of France; equality in payment of imposts, and in admission to public employments, was guarantied; entails were diminished; liberty of the press was authorized, to take effect two years after the adoption of the constitution; finally, that charter secured all the rights which the Spanish people desired, and put an end to all the old abuses, such as the inquisition, feudal privileges, etc.[1] In communicating to the people of the peninsula his intentions, the Emperor addressed them in these beautiful words: "Spaniards! after long agony your "nation is on the verge of dissolution. I have wit-

[1] Upon arriving at Madrid, the Emperor abolished the inquisition. He reduced the convents, at the same time providing an honorable subsistence for the monks, and increasing the salaries of the country curates. He suppressed the feudal rights and personal services. He transferred the custom-houses to the frontiers. Finally, the alienation by gift of certain civil and ecclesiastical impositions was revoked, and all seigneurial jurisdiction was abolished. Bignon, vol. viii. p. 54.

"nessed your sufferings, and bring you a remedy. I "do not wish to reign over your land, but I desire to "acquire an eternal right to the love and gratitude "of your posterity. Your monarchy is decrepit; "I will renew its youth. I will improve your in- "stitutions, and, if you will second me, enable "you to enjoy the benefits of a reform without "violence, disorder, or convulsion. Spaniards! I "have convoked a general assembly of delegates "from the provinces and the cities. I desire to "assure myself, personally, of your wants and your "wishes; I will then place your glorious crown "upon the head of another self, promising you a "constitution which reconciles the gentle and salu- "tary authority of the sovereign with the liberty "and privileges of the people; for I desire that "your latest children shall preserve my memory, "and say, He was the regenerator of our country."

But no nation was less prepared than Spain to undergo a social revolution. She was deaf to this noble language, and rejected the only hand which could save her. At the present time she ought to feel regrets all the more bitter, since the terrible prediction of the Emperor at Saint Helena is being accomplished: "I would have spared them," said he, "the dreadful tyranny which tramples them "under foot, and the fearful agitations which await "them!"

If war is the scourge of humanity, this scourge

loses a great part of its unhappy influence when the force of arms is called to found, not to destroy. The wars of the Empire have been like the overflow of the Nile: when the waters of the river cover the fields of Egypt, one would imagine that the country was laid waste; but hardly have the waters retired, before they are followed by fertility and abundance!

CHAPTER V.

AIM OF THE EMPEROR.

European association.—Liberty in France.

When the fortune of arms had rendered Napoleon master of the greater part of the continent, he desired to use his conquests for the establishment of a European confederation.[1]

Prompt to apprehend the tendency of civilisation, the Emperor hastened its march by executing, without delay, that which otherwise had been enfolded in the distant decrees of Providence. His genius foresaw that the rivalry which separates

[1] He caused the supplementary act to be preceded by the following remarkable words: "I intended," said he, in speaking of the past, "to organize a great *federative European sys-*" *tem*, which I had conceived as conformable to the spirit of " the age, and favorable to the progress of civilisation. In " order to be able to complete it, and give it all the breadth " and stability of which it was susceptible, I *adjourned* the es-" tablishment of several internal institutions more especially " designed to protect the liberty of citizens."

the different nations of Europe, would disappear before a general interest well understood.

The more the world improves itself, the more are the barriers which separate men lowered, and the greater is the number of countries which reciprocal interests tend to unite.

In the infancy of society, the state of nature existed between man and man; then a common interest united a small number of individuals who surrendered some of their natural rights in order that society might guaranty to them complete enjoyment of the rest. Then was formed the tribe, an association of men among whom the state of nature disappeared, and law took the place of the right of the strongest. The greater the progress of civilisation, on a correspondingly more extensive scale was this transformation effected. Men fought at first from gate to gate, from hill to hill; then the spirit of conquest and the spirit of defence gave rise to cities, provinces, states; and a common danger having united a large number of these territorial fractions, nations were formed. Then the national interests having embraced all the local and provincial interests, wars were carried on only between people and people; and each people, in its turn, made a triumphal march over the territory of its neighbor, when it was led by a great man, and attended by a great principle. The commune, the city, and the province, have thus, one

after the other, enlarged their social sphere, and extended the limits of the circle, outside of which the state of nature exists. This transformation stopped at the frontier of each country; and it is still force, not right, which decides the lot of nations.

To replace among the nations of Europe the state of nature by the social state,—such was the idea of the Emperor; all his political combinations tended to this great end; but it was necessary, in order to reach it, to bring England and Russia to a frank concurrence in his views.

"Every war in Europe," said Napoleon, "is a "civil war. The Holy Alliance is an idea stolen "from me." That is to say, a holy alliance of the nations through their kings, and not of the kings against the nations. In this consists the immeasurable difference between his idea, and the manner in which it was realized. Napoleon had displaced the sovereigns for the temporary interests of the nations; in 1815, the nations were displaced for the particular interests of the sovereigns. The statesmen of that epoch, consulting only hatreds and passions, founded European equilibrium upon the rivalry of the great powers, instead of settling it upon general mutual interests. So their system has crumbled to ruins in all its parts.

The policy of the Emperor, on the contrary,

consisted in founding a solid European association, by causing his system to rest upon complete nationalities, and upon general interests fairly satisfied. If fortune had not deserted him, he would have held in his hands all the means necessary for the new constitution of Europe: he had kept in reserve whole countries, of which he could dispose in order to attain his end. Dutch, Romans, Piedmontese, inhabitants of Bremen and of Hamburg, all of you who have been astonished to find yourselves Frenchmen, you will return to the atmosphere of nationality which suits your antecedents and your position; and France, in surrendering the rights which victory gave her over you, still acts for her own proper interests; for her interests can never be separated from those of civilized nations. In order to cement the European association, the Emperor, to use his own words, would have caused to be adopted a European code, and a European court of cassation, to correct all errors, as the Court of Cassation in France corrects the errors of French tribunals. He would have founded a European Institute to animate, direct, and unite all the learned associations of Europe.[1] Uniformity of coins and money, weights and measures, and uniformity in legislation, would have been secured by his powerful intervention.

[1] The Emperor had already commenced this branch of European association for the sciences, by offering European prizes

Thus would have been accomplished the last grand transformation for our continent; and as communal interests had risen superior to individual interests, and then interests of cities to communal interests, and interests of provinces to interests of cities, and finally, national interests to interests of provinces; so, on precisely the same principle, European interests would have ruled over national interests—and humanity would have been satisfied; for Providence could not have intended that one nation should be happy only at the expense of others, that there should be in Europe only victors and vanquished, and not the reconciled and harmonious members of one great family.

Napoleonic Europe once founded, the Emperor would have proceeded in France to the establishment of his institutions of peace. He would have consolidated liberty; he had only to let loose the cords of the net-work he had prepared.

The government of Napoleon, better than any

for new discoveries or inventions. Notwithstanding the existence of war, Davy, of London, and Hermann, of Berlin, won prizes offered by the Institute.

In the same idea of European confraternity, the Emperor caused to be declared by a senatus-consultum, of the 21st February, 1808, that those who had rendered or should render important services to the state, or who should introduce inventions, or useful industries, or should form great establishments, might after one year of residence be admitted to enjoy the rights of French citizenship, which rights should be conferred upon them by a decree.

other, could have sustained liberty, for the simple reason that liberty would have strengthened his throne, though it overthrows such thrones as have not a solid foundation.

Liberty would have fortified his power, because Napoleon had established in France all that ought to precede liberty;[1] because his power reposed upon the whole mass of the nation; because his interests were the same as those of the people; because, finally, the most perfect confidence reigned between the ruler and the governed.

In fact, without identical interests, without absolute confidence, no authority is possible; however well a government may act, or intend to act, it is doomed to perish if evil intents are attributed to all its acts. "One of the indispensable qualities "of a government," says M. Thiers,[2] "is to have "that good reputation which defends it from in- "justice. When it has lost that, and every thing "—even the wrongs of others and of fortune— "is imputed as a crime, there remains no longer "the faculty of governing, and this lack of author- "ity should condemn it—to retire."

In England, in 1687, the want of confidence of the people towards the sovereign led to fatal consequences. The king, James II., published, of his own authority, a declaration of liberty of con-

[1] See the commencement of the third chapter, page 34.
[2] History of the Revolution.

science for all his subjects; but the nation distrusted the intention of the sovereign, and thinking that he desired by the declaration to favor the triumph of Catholicism felt indignant at an act which it suspected of duplicity, although the principle involved was just and generous.

To the Emperor Napoleon, on the contrary, possessing the confidence of the people, all was easy. He had at the beginning surmounted the greatest difficulty and laid the principal foundations of a solid establishment, by reconciling among themselves all the members of the French family. All agreed as to the fundamental basis of the constitution. The interests of the majority were mingled to such a degree with those of his dynasty, that in 1811, on the very spot where, a few years before, implacable hatred to royalty had been sworn, all Paris and all France were seen to salute with their acclamations the birth of a child, because that child appeared to be a pledge of the duration and stability of the imperial government.

Beloved especially by the people, could Napoleon fear to grant political rights to all the citizens? After being chosen consul for life, he re-established the principle of the right of election, and used these significant words: "For the "sake of the *stability* of the government, it is ne- "cessary that the people should have a share in "the elections!" Thus already in 1803, Napoleon

foresaw that liberty would fortify his power. His warmest partisans being among the people, the more he lowered the electoral qualification, the better chances had his natural friends of arriving at the legislative assembly; the more power he gave to the masses, the more he strengthened his own.

Nor would liberty of discussion in the Chambers have endangered the imperial government; for, all being agreed upon the fundamental questions, an opposition would only have had the effect of giving birth to a noble emulation, and instead of expending its energies in attempting the overthrow of government, it would have confined its efforts to endeavoring to improve it.

Finally, the liberty of the press would have served only to exhibit in better light the grandeur of the plans of Napoleon, to proclaim the benefits attending his reign. As General, Consul, Emperor, having done every thing for the people, would he have feared being reproached with making conquests which had resulted in the prosperity and glory of France, and in the peace of the world? Would he have feared that a more brilliant glory would have been contrasted with his own? No, a government glorious with laurels both civil and military, could not have feared the light! The more moral power an authority has, the less necessity does it feel to employ material

force; and the more power public opinion confers upon it, the better able it is to dispense with using it.

Let us repeat, then: identity of interests of the sovereign and of the people, is the essential foundation of a dynasty. A government is firmly and immovably seated when it can say to itself: That which will be for the advantage of the greatest number, that which will secure the liberty of the citizen and the prosperity of the country, will constitute the force of my authority, and will consolidate my power. But when a government finds partisans only in a single class, when liberty furnishes arms only to its enemies, how can one hope that it will enlarge the system of election, that it will favor liberty? Can a government be expected to commit suicide?

Thus, under Napoleon, a normal state was arrived at without shocks and without troubles,—a state in which liberty would have been the support of power, the guaranty of public welfare, instead of being a weapon of war, and a torch of discord.

It is with an impression similar to that which follows an intoxicated dream, that one dwells upon the picture of happiness and stability that Europe would have presented, if the comprehensive plans of the Emperor had been realized. Each country, limited by its natural boundaries, united to its

neighbors by relations of interest and friendship, would have enjoyed the benefits of independence, of peace, and of liberty; and sovereigns, free from fear and suspicion, would have applied themselves to improving the condition of their people, and to introducing among them all the advantages of civilisation!

Instead of that, what have we now in Europe? Every one, when he goes to sleep at night, fears the awakening of the morning; for the germs of evil are distributed everywhere, and every honest soul dreads even blessings, because of the sacrifices which must be made to obtain them!

Friends of liberty, who have rejoiced at the downfall of Napoleon, your error has been fatal! How many tedious years must pass, how many struggles and sacrifices must be gone through and suffered, before you will arrive again at the point to which Napoleon had advanced you!

And you, statesmen of the Congress of Vienna, who have been masters of the world, while standing upon the ruins of the Empire—you might have played a splendid part, but you did not comprehend it! You have aroused the people in the name of liberty, and even of license, against Napoleon; you have put him under the ban of Europe as a despot and a tyrant; you claim to have delivered the nations and assured their repose. They for a moment have believed you; but nothing solid

and permanent can be built upon falsehood and error. Napoleon had closed the gulf of revolutions; you, overthrowing him, have reopened it. Take care that the gulf does not swallow you up!

CHAPTER VI.

CAUSE OF THE FALL OF THE EMPEROR.

We have exhibited in the preceding chapters all the chances of duration which the imperial creations possessed. But, will it be said the edifice of the interior, which you deemed so solid and firm, has been overturned? that foreign policy which you consider so profound has proved the cause of his ruin?

We reply: The edifice of the interior was solid and firm; for the shock which overturned it did not come from the interior: as for the system conceived by the Emperor, it was not definitively established, and it would have been necessary to put it into operation in order to demonstrate its strength.

The Emperor fell, because he completed his work too hastily—because, events pressing too rapidly, he conquered too promptly. Anticipating, by his genius, both time and men, when fortunate, he was regarded as a god; when unfortunate,

nothing was perceived but his rashness. Borne along by the current of victory, his rapid course could not be followed by the philosophers, who, restricting their ideas to the narrow circle of the domestic hearth, on account of a gleam of liberty, aided in quenching the very fire of civilisation.

At the same time foreign nations, impatient of the temporary evils of war, forgot the benefits which Napoleon brought them, and on account of a transient ill, rejected a whole future of independence. It was not within the power of even the greatest genius of modern times, in so few years to destroy in foreign countries all prejudices and convince all consciences.

France had become too great, in consequence of the Revolution, not to awaken rivalries and hatreds; in order to appease them, it would have been necessary to descend in the scale from the time of the commencement of the Empire. But these very rivalries caused Napoleon to mount to the climax of his power; when afterwards he was obliged to descend, he could not stop in his downward course.

Time not having cemented his alliances, or effaced the memory of too recent enmities, his allies, upon the first check, turned against him. Deceived in his expectations, the Emperor refused to accept propositions which he did not think sincere; the enemy, on their side, seeing Napoleon always

more haughty after a defeat, thought that he never would consent to a definitive peace.

Napoleon's plans were constantly enlarged in proportion with the elements which he had at his disposition, and he fell because he desired to accomplish in ten years a work which would have required several generations.

Not then in consequence of impotence did the Emperor succumb, but in consequence of exhaustion. And in spite of his terrible reverses and innumerable calamities, the French people always supported him by their suffrages, sustained him by their efforts, and encouraged him by their attachment.

It is a consolation to those who feel the blood of a great man flowing through their veins, to think of the regrets which accompanied his removal. It is a great and proud thought that it required all the efforts of allied Europe to tear Napoleon from France, which he had rendered so glorious. It was not the French people, in their wrath, who overturned his throne; it required twice twelve hundred thousand foreign swords to break his imperial sceptre!

Full of beauty and honor are the obsequies of the sovereign, whom a nation in tears, and glory clothed in mourning, accompany to his last resting-place!

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION.

The period of the Empire was a war of life and death, waged by England against France. England triumphed; but, thanks to the creative genius of Napoleon, France, although vanquished, has lost, substantially, less than England. The finances of France are still the most prosperous in Europe; England bends under the weight of debt. The impulse given to industry and to commerce has not been stopped in spite of our reverses; and at this time the European continent supplies itself with the greater part of the products which England formerly supplied.

Now, we ask, who are the greatest statesmen, those who have ruled over countries which have gained, in spite of defeat, or those who have governed countries which have lost, in spite of victory?

The period of the Empire was a war of life and death against the old European system. The old

system has triumphed; but in spite of the fall of Napoleon, the Napoleonic Ideas have germinated everywhere. The victors have even adopted the ideas of the vanquished, and the people consume themselves in efforts to rebuild what Napoleon had established among them.

In France the realisation of the ideas of the Emperor, under other names or other forms, is demanded without cessation. If a great measure or a great work is put in execution, it is generally a project of Napoleon, which is proceeded with or finished. Every act of power, every proposition of the Chambers, places itself under the ægis of Napoleon, in order to secure popularity; and upon a word fallen from his lips, a whole system is built.

Italy and Poland have endeavored to recover the national organisation which Napoleon had given them.

Spain sheds profusely the blood of her children, in order to re-establish the institutions which the consultum of Bayonne, in 1808, guarantied. The troubles which agitate her are but the reaction which spontaneously arises against resistance to the ideas of the Emperor.

At London, also, a reaction has taken place, and the major-general of the French army at Waterloo has been fêted by the English people like a conqueror.

Belgium, in 1830, manifested distinctly her desire to become again what she was under the Empire.

Several countries of Germany ask urgently for the laws which Napoleon gave them.

The Swiss cantons unanimously prefer the act of mediation of 1803 to the compact which unites them.

Finally, we have seen even in a democratic republic (Berne), those districts which formerly belonged to France, demand in 1838, from the government of Berne, the imperial laws, of which their incorporation with that republic had deprived them since 1815.

Let us then ask again, who are the greatest statesmen, those who found a system which crumbles in spite of their all-sufficient power, or those who found a system which survives their defeat, and rises from its ruins?

The Napoleonic Ideas have then the character of ideas which control the movement of society, since they advance by their own force, although deprived of their author; like a body which, launched into space, arrives by its own momentum and weight at the end designed.

There is no longer any necessity to reconstruct the system of the Emperor; it will reconstruct itself. Sovereigns and nations will concur in re-

establishing it; because each one will see in it a guaranty of order, of peace, and of prosperity.

Besides, where can we find, at this day, the extraordinary man who can command the attention of the world by the respect due to the superiority of his conceptions and ideas?

The genius of our epoch has need only of simple reason. Thirty years ago it was necessary to foresee and prepare; now it is a question only of correct appreciation, and of careful collection and arrangement.

"In contemporary, as in historical facts," Napoleon has said, "lessons may be found, but rarely "models." It is impossible to copy that which has been done, because imitations do not always produce resemblances.

In fact, to copy in the details, instead of copying in the spirit, a past government, would be to act like a general, who, finding himself upon the same field of battle where Napoleon or Frederic had conquered, should undertake to secure victory by repeating the same manœuvres.

In reading the history of nations, as the history of battles, it is necessary to draw general principles, without confining one's self to follow servilely, step by step, vestiges which are imprinted, not upon sand, but upon a more elevated ground—the interests of humanity.

In conclusion, let us repeat it, the Napoleonic

Idea is not one of war, but a social, industrial, commercial idea, and one which concerns all mankind. If to some it appears always surrounded by the thunder of combats, that is because it was in fact for too long a time veiled by the smoke of cannon and the dust of battles. But now the clouds are dispersed, and we can see, beyond the glory of arms, a civil glory greater and more enduring.

May the shade of the Emperor repose, then, in peace! His memory grows greater every day. Every surge that breaks upon the rock of Saint Helena, responding to a whisper of Europe, brings a homage to his memory, a regret to his ashes, and the echo of Longwood repeats over his tomb: "THE ENFRANCHIZED NATIONS ARE OCCUPIED "EVERYWHERE IN RE-ESTABLISHING THY WORK!"

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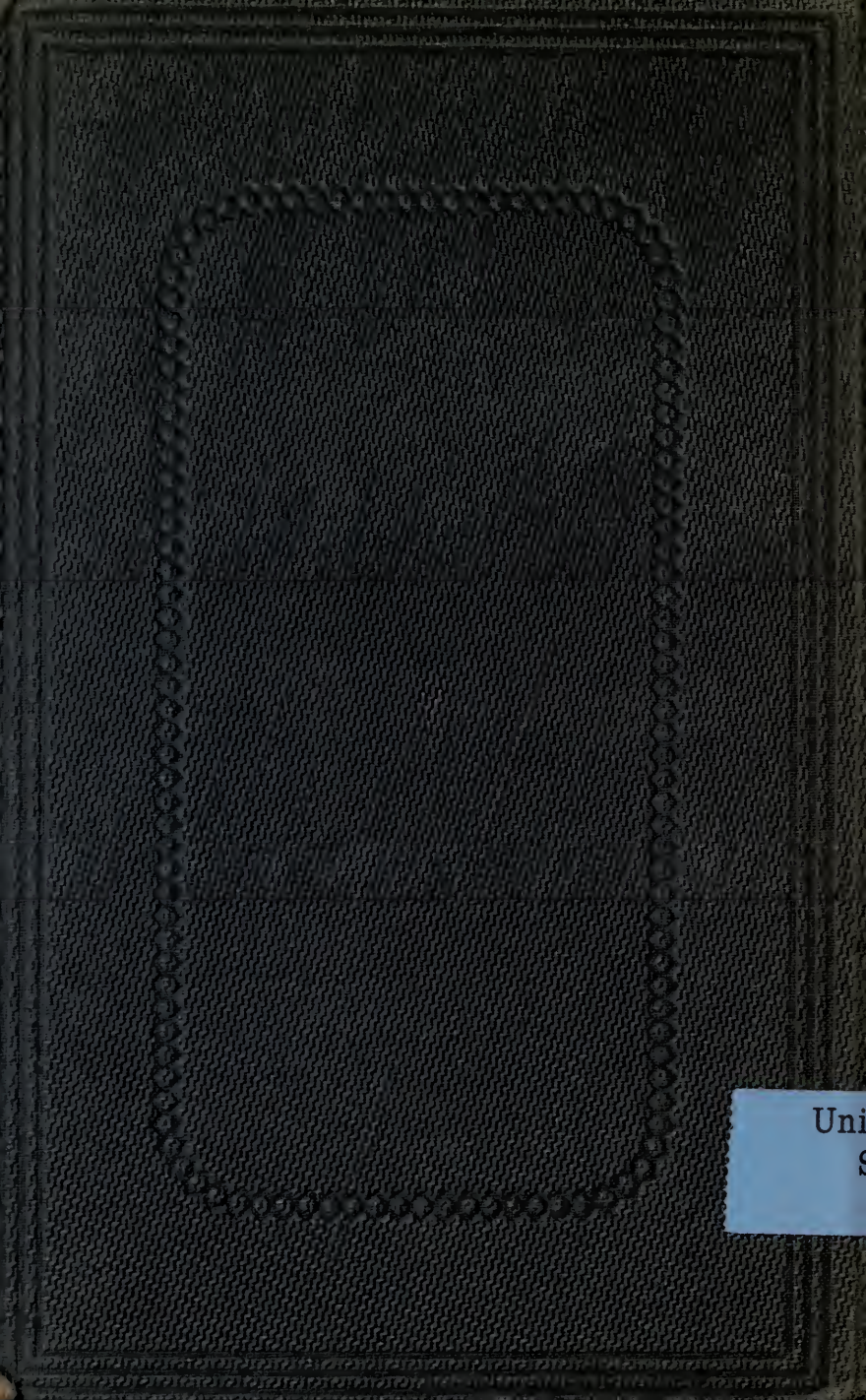
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